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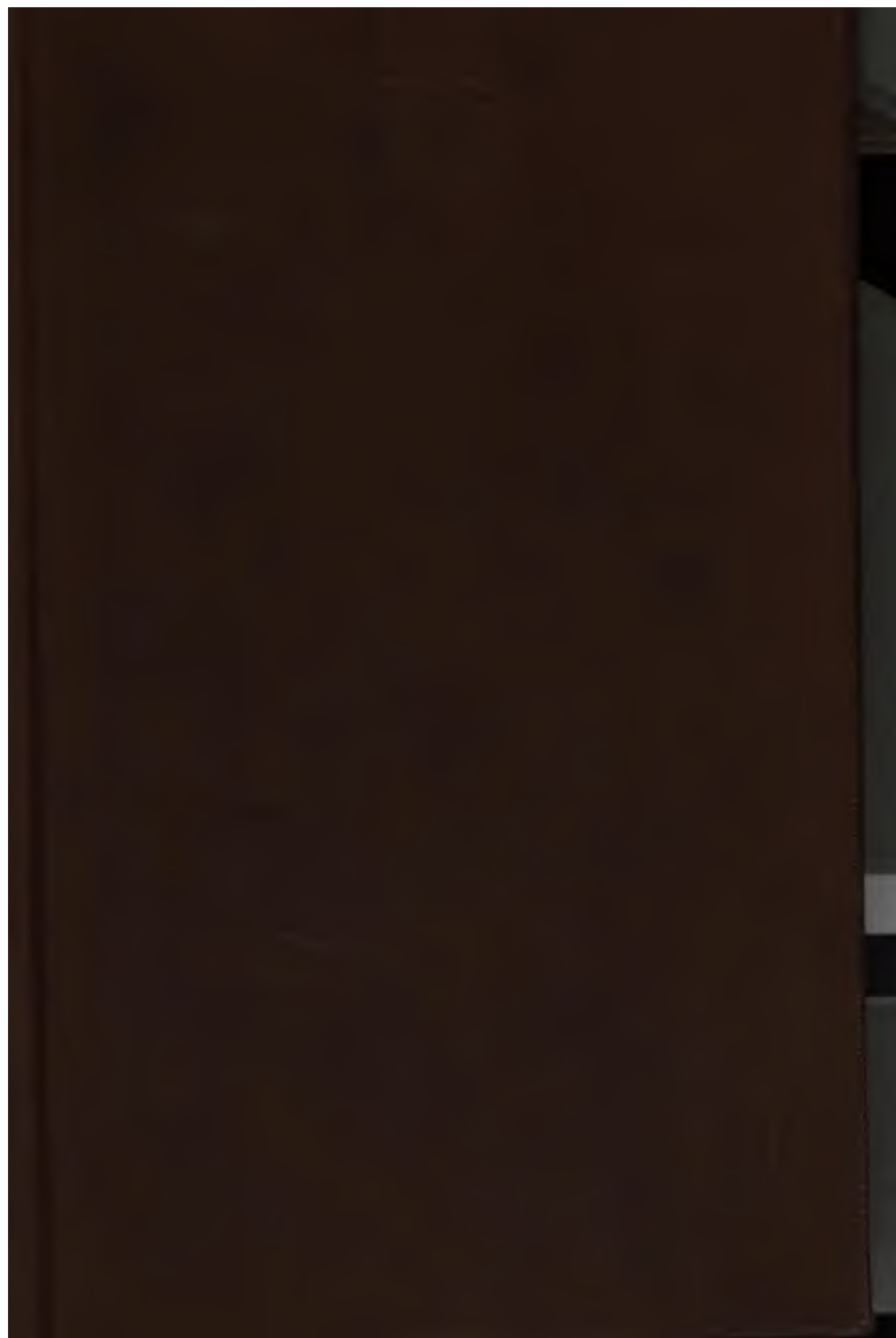
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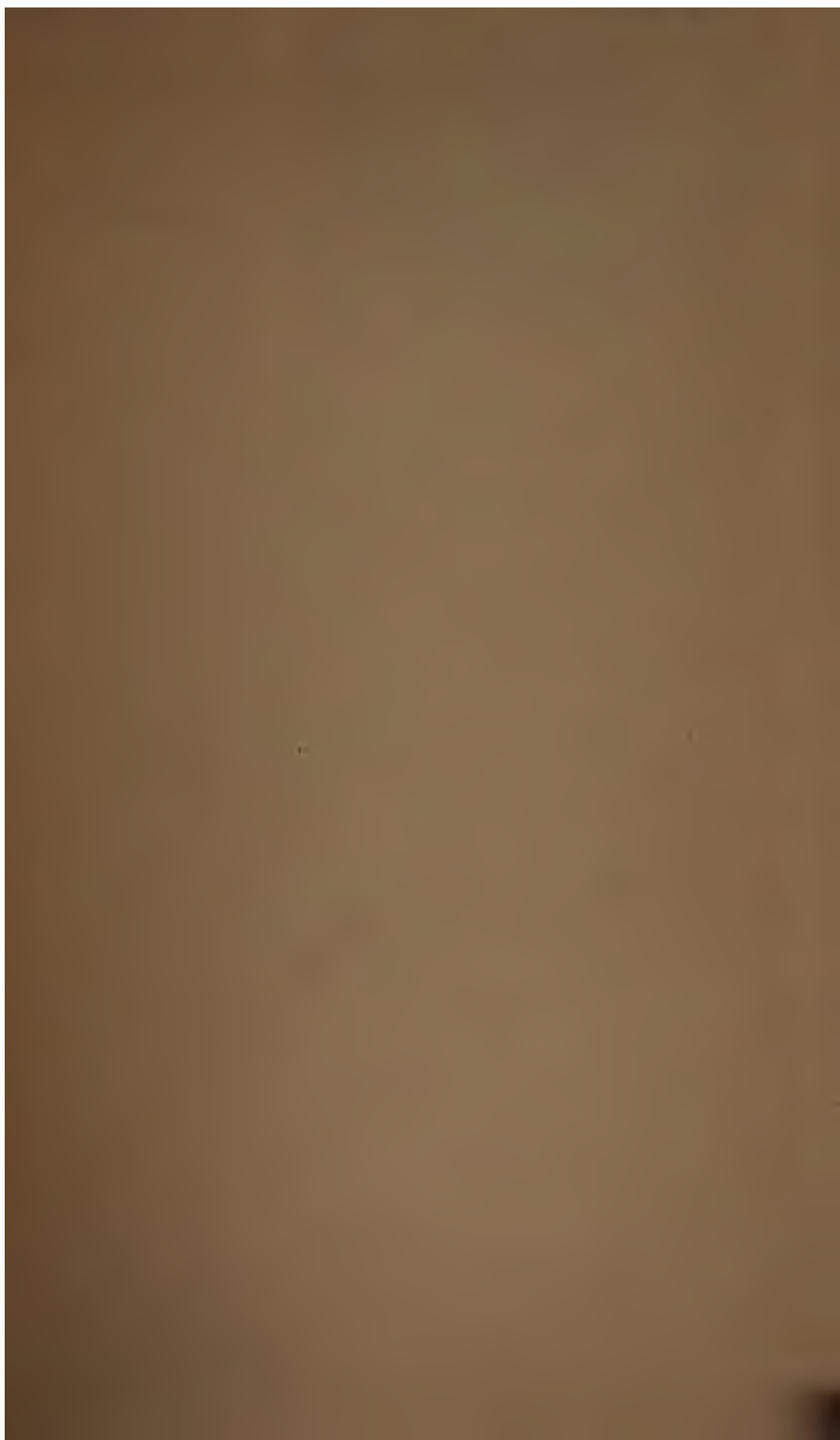
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THE
MARCH OF HANNIBAL

FROM THE

RHONE TO THE ALPS.

BY

HENRY LAWES LONG, ESQ.

LONDON :
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TO
HENRY L. WICKHAM, ESQ.

ONE OF THE AUTHORS OF THE
“ DISSERTATION UPON THE MARCH OF HANNIBAL
ACROSS THE ALPS.”

MY DEAR WICKHAM,

I send you the result of a tour recently
made in Dauphiny, not without the hope that,
as I began with believing in you, you may
end in agreeing with me.

Most truly yours,

HENRY LAWES LONG.

Lausanne, June 1st, 1831.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the many sources of interest which engage our attention in passing through a foreign country, neither its economy, political and domestic, its natural curiosities, its scenery, nor its field sports, more powerfully attract the traveller, than the sight of places renowned in history as the scenes where great events have been transacted. The plains where battles have been fought—the fortresses where sieges have been undertaken—the mountain passes which armies have traversed, most forcibly arrest the attention, for such events form the materials of which the annals of the human race are principally composed. To have, instead of a map, the identical district laid out before us—to tread upon the very ground described—to look up to the same mountains that hung over the heads of the warriors of

whom we read ;—all this adds immeasurably to the interest of the story, and tries by a severe test the accuracy of the author who records it. Herodotus at Marathon, Thucydides at Syracuse, and Polybius throughout Italy, from the Alps to the Aufidus, are read with increased pleasure when we find the face of nature, itself incapable of any material alteration, giving testimony in favour of their correctness. The taunts of “*Græcorum nugamenta*” and “*Græcia mendax*” have been thrown upon the historians of that country ; but satire is not always truth ; and, with the exception of Julius Cæsar, whose rapid but masterly sketches of a country enable us at once to recognize it, the Roman authors themselves are more deserving of the reproach. Livy, to say nothing of his portents and prodigies, is notoriously defective and unintelligible in his geography ; and even Tacitus, a writer of acknowledged accuracy, affords us insufficient light to follow Agricola through his conquest of Britain with any degree of certainty.

The madness of mankind still indulges in warfare ; but it is humiliating to be forced to confess, that the triumphs which are supposed to adorn the page of history, have seldom produced any visibly beneficial consequences ;

while the horrors that accompanied them must always, for a time at least, have occasioned incalculable mischief and misery. Modern nations, at the conclusion of hostilities, are usually left much in the same state (except as to their finances) as they were at the beginning of a war. In ancient times, however, this was not so frequently the case. When we stand upon the barrow of the Greeks at Marathon, where the occasional loosening of the soil still exposes to our view the fragments of the flint arrow-heads of the Persian archers, we are conscious that those arrows were aimed not only against the rights and liberties of a free and independent people, but against the cradle of all the arts and sciences we now enjoy; and the gallant band that drove back the tide of barbarism from their shores, preserved at the same time to themselves and to us the rudiments of all that is useful and honourable to mankind. Thus, too, the conquest of the world by the Roman was the march of civilization; a check in its progress would have influenced the condition of ages yet unborn. The desperate attack of Hannibal "*ad delendum nomen Romanum, liberandumque orbem terrarum,*" was unsuccessful; and as such, its consequences affect us even to the present hour. It left Rome the sovereign mistress of an undisputed

world, which she was allowed to fashion after her own taste ; and, as we are not disposed to object to our language, our literature, or our laws, the greater portion of which we have derived from her, we may be presumed to be satisfied with the course she adopted. What effect might have been produced upon our domestic habits and political institutions, had the Carthaginian triumphed, cannot be conjectured ; but it is very certain, if the destinies of the world had been so reversed, we should not, in every sentence we utter, find words of Roman origin. Under these circumstances the Carthaginian expedition into Italy acquires an importance independent of the interest excited by the novelty, hardihood and conduct of the enterprise. Their march upon Rome is not only the most remarkable feature in one of the most remarkable wars ever waged, "*bellum maxime omnium memorabile quæ unquam gesta sint*," but, in tracing their steps, we feel as if we were approaching the crisis of our own destinies ; and while we acknowledge the courage and genius of the African general, it is on the side of Rome, the common parent of all Europe, that we lean with a feeling of filial anxiety.

To those, therefore, who delight in picturing to themselves the transactions of 'distant ages

on the very spot where they occurred, the march of Hannibal across the Alps cannot fail in producing the most lively interest. In visiting the scenes of this march, the traveller is unusually fortunate in two particulars:— he is led through the rich scenery of Dauphiny and Savoy, some of the most picturesque in Europe, and he has for his guide an historian of unrivalled merit. In Polybius we meet with a distinctness of detail which at once discovers the soldier, who had thoroughly investigated and understood every manœuvre of the hostile forces—the traveller, perfectly acquainted with the country in which the event he describes took place—and the faithful and accomplished writer, who condensed the materials without affecting the accuracy of his narrative. Indeed, had the original despatches sent by Hannibal to Carthage come down to us, we could hardly have found in them an account of the leading events of the campaign arranged in a more intelligible and interesting manner. Gibbon tells us, that in Polybius there is a sterility of fancy. This in an historian cannot surely be deemed a fault; but however true it may be, and however little his style may bend from its grave and dignified flow, his narrative is by no means deficient in the art of addressing

itself to our imagination. The events he describes are so clearly and vividly depicted, that in reading him we seem almost to live in the days of the Punic war, in defiance of the fine lines of Lucretius, where the poet exclaims—

iii. 844.

Et, velut anteacto *nil* tempore *sensimus* ægri,
Ad configendum venientibus undique Pænis;
Omnia cum, belli trepido concussa tumultu,
Horrida, contremuere sub altis ætheris auris;
In dubioque fuere, utrorum ad regna cadundum
Omnibus humanis esset, terraque marique.

The nearer an author lives to the times of which he writes the history, the more likely he is to enter with spirit into the narrative, and to communicate his enthusiasm to his readers. Polybius lived but one generation only after Hannibal; his authorities were men who had been actors in the very scenes he describes, while his intimacy with the “*Virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Læli*,” must have opened to him the purest sources of information. It is possible, perhaps, to detect in the historian an excusable partiality towards the illustrious race of the Scipios; but, even if this is the case, no writer during the lapse of nearly twenty centuries has yet ventured to impugn his veracity; while, of all the losses that literature has to lament, none are

more regretted than the defective portions of Polybius.

It is well-known to all those whom the march of Hannibal has at all interested, that a great controversy exists as to the precise road through the Alps traversed by the Carthaginian army ; and this has arisen from the impossibility of producing any accordance between the accounts furnished us by Polybius and Livy. In the time of Livy himself it was already a subject of debate, and the additional confusion into which it was plunged by that historian has continued the dispute down to our own times. In the account Polybius has given us of the progress of the Carthaginian army from Spain to Italy, he glances rapidly over that portion of it preceding the passage of the Rhone, as presenting no events worthy of particular notice ; but the mode of effecting the passage of that river, as well as the subsequent dangers and difficulties experienced by the Carthaginians until they reached the plains of the Po, are described with a precision almost amounting to the minuteness of a daily journal. The historian, who dwells with unusual interest upon this part of his narrative, had journeyed through the Alps upon the track of the Carthaginian army, to satisfy him-

self by a personal investigation of the localities, previous to recounting what was then considered, and is still looked back upon, as one of the most extraordinary performances ever accomplished. As a proof of the estimation in which Polybius was held even by his rival Livy, and how much he was preferred as an authority to all other writers, of whom there must have been several whose very names are now lost to us, we need only remark the servile manner in which he is copied by the Latin author—in some places so closely as to be little else than merely translated. It would have been fortunate, perhaps, had this been uniformly the case; but Polybius wrote at least a century before Livy, and the court of Augustus, for whom Livy undertook his work, required a more refined style than that of the Greek author; accordingly, in Livy we certainly discover Polybius, but it is Polybius dressed up, ornamented, and amplified; very well suited, no doubt, to the taste of the day, but utterly destructive of the simplicity and fidelity of the original. In many places inextricable confusion has been thus produced; and in no part so much as in the celebrated description of the passage of the Alps by Hannibal; for no more favourable opportunity

presented itself of indulging a fertile imagination in its disposition to exaggerate.* We, however, derive one advantage from Livy's narrative; it shows that Polybius alone was his authority for the account, as he ought to be ours. It is from Polybius that all the events of the march are extracted; they succeed each other precisely in the same order; but they are immensely dilated, and loaded with many unnecessary remarks and extraneous matter; above all, by Livy's giving the names of certain Gallic tribes, through which he affirms the Carthaginians to have passed, as well as by positively declaring them to have crossed the highest ridge of the Alps by the Saltus Taurinus, (the Mont Genevre,) the narrative of Polybius is attempted to be fastened upon a line of country to which nei-

• To show how easily a lively fancy may unconsciously fall into exaggeration upon a subject of this sort, I need only quote a sentence from a justly admired author, an ardent lover of truth:—"It was in this campaign that he (Bonaparte) proved himself a worthy rival of Hannibal. The energy which conducted an army, with its cavalry, artillery, and supplies, across the Alps, *by untried pa'ths, which only the chamois hunter, born and bred amidst glaciers and everlasting snows, had trodden*, gave an impression, which of all others he most desired to spread, of his superiority to nature, as well as to human opposition."-*Channing's Character of Bonaparte.*

ther time, nor space, nor geographical character, nor common sense, can possibly unite it. No doubt Livy imagined himself conducting Hannibal by the road indicated by Polybius, and that by supplying the names, he was making amends for the deficiencies of that author; but he had not, like Polybius, visited the mountains and ascertained the distances; and those who take him as a guide upon the assurance of the names he furnishes, will soon find themselves entangled in an inextricable labyrinth.

The first steps towards attaining any thing like a rational explanation of this march were taken by M. Deluc, of Geneva,* who, in a most able illustration of a theory made known to him by the late General Melville, founded wholly and solely upon the authority of Polybius, by a diligent comparison of ancient with modern topography, and by carefully attending to the time and distances which are recorded with sufficient precision, has at last pointed out the only true mode of clearing up the question. M. Deluc's publication was almost immediately followed by that of two members of the University of Oxford,† who

* *Histoire du Passage des Alpes par Annibal.* Par J. A. Deluc, fils de feu G. A. Deluc, &c. &c. Genève, 1818.

† *Dissertation on the Passage of the Alps by Hannibal.*

had themselves minutely investigated the whole country between the Rhone and the Po. In this excellent performance, after some very valuable remarks upon the early history of the Alps, the claims of the Little St. Bernard to the distinction of being the road of Hannibal are set forth in a manner so clear, and so convincing, that we feel as sure of the fact as we do of the existence of Hannibal himself. It is not the intention of the author of the following pages to touch, except in a very slight degree, upon that part of the topography of the march which belongs to the Alps themselves—considering the above-mentioned publications to have effected nearly as much as the nature of the subject, or the purposes of history, required. It appears to him, however, that neither General Melville, nor M. Deluc, nor even the Oxford authors themselves, have satisfactorily established the line of march between the Rhone and the foot of the Alps; on the contrary, that they have not been successful in assimilating the narrative of Polybius with the route they have adopted through Dauphiny, and that these errors materially affect their subsequent calculations during the

By Henry L. Wickham, Esq., and the Rev. J. Cramer, late Students of Ch. Ch. Oxford. Second Edition. London, 1828.

passage of the Alps. Under these impressions, after a close attention to every word in the text of the Greek historian, and aided by an additional recent examination of the country, he now offers the result of his observations, fully convinced that the road by which he shows the Carthaginian general to have conducted his army to the entrance of the valley of the Little St. Bernard will be admitted to correspond with that described by Polybius, as to time, distance, and geographical character, in a manner so close and incontrovertible as to set this long pending discussion at rest for ever.

THE MARCH OF HANNIBAL,

&c. &c.

WHEN Hannibal had reached the foot of the ^{Polyb. iii.} Pyrenees on the Spanish side, half the distance ^{39, 40.} between New Carthage and the plains of the Po was accomplished ; but the remaining portion, in point of difficulty, was by much the most considerable. He had before him the formidable obstacles of the Pyrenees, the Rhone, and the Alps ; and the worst parts of the country were occupied by the fierce and fickle tribes of the Transalpine Celts.

This latter half of the march is divided by Polybius into three portions—

I. From Emporium (Ampurias, on the Bay of Rosas, in Catalonia) to the Rhone.

II. From the Rhone to the commencement of the ascent of the Alps.

III. Across the Alps to the Plains of the Po.

Of these divisions it is the second principally which forms the subject of the present investigation. The route from Spain to the Rhone is sufficiently evident; and the passage of the Alps has been already proved satisfactorily to be that of the Little St. Bernard. It will, however, be necessary to examine, to a certain extent, these portions of the march, in order to connect them with the extremities of the intermediate section; and in so doing, a few remarks upon the passage of the Alps will be brought forward, tending to complete, if any thing is needed to complete, the proof that the Little St. Bernard was the road of Hannibal.

First, then, with a view to determine the exact point upon the Rhone where the Carthaginians passed that river, we have to take into consideration the road across the Pyrenees, and through Languedoc, by which they advanced to its banks. The notices of this march, although quite sufficient for our purpose, are very scanty. Hannibal is represented at first as under some apprehension of the Celts, on account of the difficult nature of their country; while Scipio calculated upon the delay his enemies would experience from

the same circumstance, and from the multitude of those barbarous tribes. These were the Celts, elsewhere described by Polybius as occupying all the country between the Pyrenees and the river Narbo, (Aude,) a tract exactly coinciding with the limits of the territory of Roussillon, the modern department of the Pyrenées Orientales.* The remaining sentences descriptive of the march, separated from the interruption of other details, stand as follows—

*Ἀννίβας δὲ παραδόξως, τοὺς μὲν χρήμασι πείσας c. 41.
τῶν Κελτῶν, τοὺς δὲ βιασάμενος, ἦκε μετὰ τῶν
δυνάμεων, δεξιὸν ἔχων τὸ Σαρδόνιον πέλαγος, ἐπὶ τὴν
τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ διάβασιν.*

*Ἀννίβας δὲ, προσμίζας τοῖς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν c. 42.
τόποις, εὐθὺς ἐνεχείρει ποιῆσθαι τὴν διάβασιν κατὰ
τὴν ἀπλὴν ῥύσιν σχεδὸν ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδὸν ἀπέχων
στρατοπέδῳ τῆς θαλάττης.*

“ But Hannibal having, beyond all expecta-

* There is another passage of Polybius existing in the Polyb. shape of a fragment, preserved in Athenæus, which contains some curious particulars relating to the Roussillon Reliq. Lib. xxxiv. de Gallia. country; he speaks of certain fossil fish found in the neighbourhood of the modern towns of Elne and Perpignan. Organic remains of divers sorts are found in an osseous breccia, common in several places along this coast of the Mediterranean. Polybius imagines these fish to have made their way from the rivers (the Tet and the Tech) in search of their favourite food, the roots of the Agrostis.

tion, persuaded some of the Celts by presents, and compelled others by force, advanced with his forces towards the passage of the Rhone, having the Sardinian sea to the right.

“ And upon reaching the country in the neighbourhood of the river, he immediately prepared to make the passage, at the single stream, having his army at the distance of four days’ journey from the sea.”

To these materials must be added a previous, and more important extract :—

c. 38. *Καὶ μὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανῶν διάβασιν, περὶ χιλίους ἑξακοσίους. τὰντα γὰρ νῦν βεβημάτισται, καὶ σισημέιωται κατὰ σταδίους ὀκτὼ διὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελῶς.*

“ And from thence (Emporium) to the passage of the Rhone, nearly 1,600 stadia, (200 M.P.,) for this distance has now been carefully measured by the Romans, and marked every eight stadia.”

From these materials we have to trace the march to the banks of the Rhone; and as far as Nismes, we meet with no obstacle to our progress, for the great Roman way is perfectly well known from the Itineraries. Nismes itself stands at a distance of 177 M.P. from Emporium, according to the authors of the “ Dissertation.”

p. 230.

The remainder of the distance to the Rhone

is not at first quite so apparent, for we have to choose between three ways of reaching the river from Nismes. One in a north-easterly direction, conducting us to Roquemaure—such, at least, is a road laid down by M. Deluc and others, and stated by them to be the road taken by Hannibal. Whether any modern road exists in that direction or not, I am unable to say; but it is very certain that *no Roman way* ever connected Nismes with Roquemaure. Yet the words of Polybius are decisive: he distinctly points out a road between Emporium and *the Rhone, measured and marked by the Romans*; if, therefore, we are to be guided by the authority of Polybius, we must give up the road to Roquemaure.

The other two roads leading from Nismes to the Rhone are more to the purpose, for they are really Roman, as well as being still in use as important thoroughfares. Of these, one runs in a direction due east from Nismes to Beaucaire, the ancient Ugernum; the other takes a south-easterly course to the celebrated city of Arles, formerly the more celebrated Arelate. The road to Arles seems to have been the most frequented of the two, and appears in all the Itineraries; that to Beaucaire is given in the Theodosian Table,

and is noticed by Strabo. The geographer is speaking of the way from Nismes to Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix.)

iv. c. 3. Ἐκ Νεμαύσου δὲ διὰ Οὐγέρνου καὶ Ταράσκωνος εἰς τὰ θερμὰ ὕδατα τὰ Σεξτία καλούμενα.

“From Nismes, through Ugernum and Tarasco, to the warm waters of Sextius.”

And again, speaking of another road—

iv. c. 3. Τὴν διὰ Ουόκοντίων καὶ τῆς Κοττίου. μέχρι μὲν Οὐγέρνου, καὶ Ταράσκωνος κοινὴ ὁδὸς ἢ ἀπὸ Νεμαύσου.

“That through the Vocontii and the territory of Cottius,—the road as far as Ugernum and Tarasco, is the same as that from Nismes.”

No other Roman way leading from Nismes to the Rhone, exists even in tradition; it follows, therefore, that either at Beaucaire or Arles, Hannibal must have effected his passage; and we are at once relieved from all doubt as to which of the two places we are to choose, by the words of Polybius himself. He

c. 42. says it was κατὰ τὴν ἀπλὴν ῥύσιν—at the place where the river flowed “*in a single stream.*” These words have been thought to mean a part of the stream uninterrupted by any of those islands with which the Rhone abounds, an explanation in which I cannot at all concur, for the words are most certainly ap-

plied by Polybius to the passage at Beaucaire, in contradistinction to the other passage at Arles ; for at Arles the bifurcation of the Rhone begins,—at Arles there are *two streams*, and the passage there would have been *κατὰ τὴν διπλὴν ῥύσιν*. Polybius, speaking of the Po, employs the same expression,

ii. c. 16.

Τὴν μὲν γὰρ πρώτην ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν ἔχει ΠΥΣΙΝ ἈΠΛῆΝ, σχίζεται δὲ εἰς δύο μέρη κατὰ τοὺς προσ-
αγορευομένους Τριγαβόλους.

“The river flows from its sources in *a single stream* at first, but it is divided into two branches in the country of the Trigaboli.”

It remains to be shown, that in the distance of Beaucaire from Emporium there is nothing inconsistent with the “nearly 1,600 stadia (200 M.P.)” of Polybius. From Emporium to Nismes there are, as has been already stated, about 177 Roman miles ; if to these we add 15, the number, according to the Theodosian Table, between Nismes and Beaucaire, we get a total of 192 miles, which falls short of the Polybian distance by eight miles : this is too considerable a defalcation to pass without comment—and on this I have two remarks to offer.

First—The Greek historian here makes use of the word *περί*, “nearly ;” we are not, therefore, to expect to find an *exact* 200 M.P.,

particularly as when he employs this word he commonly exceeds the real distance in the number he gives ; for instance, he gives the distance from New Carthage to the plains of the Po in this manner—

From New Carthage to the Iberus . .	2,600	
From the Iberus to Emporium . . .	1,600	
		4,200
From Emporium to the Rhone . . .	1,600	
From the Rhone to the Alps . . .	1,400	
Across the Alps to the Plains of the Po . .	1,200	
		4,200
		8,400

Making altogether a length of 8,400 stadia ; yet in summing it up he speaks in round numbers, calling it “ nearly 9,000 stadia :”

iii. c. 39. ὥστ' εἶναι τοὺς πάντας ἐκ καινῆς πόλεως σταδίου
περὶ ἑννακισχιλίους.

Secondly—If it should still be required to
p. 45. approach more closely to the 200 M.P., we may remark that M. Deluc, in calculating the distance between Emporium and Juncaria, (la Junquera,) does not follow the main road through Figueras, but thinks it probable the ancients had some shorter and more direct line through Peralada ; upon which supposition he forms his computation.

Thus, therefore, in point of distance from Emporium, there is nothing in the situation of

Beaucaire that militates against the account given by Polybius. The three data—the distance, the Roman road, and the single stream, by which we thus determine the place of the passage, are of themselves, perhaps, sufficient; but there is yet a fourth—the distance from the foot of the Alps, which is stated by Polybius to be 1,400 stadia, or 175 Roman miles. Out of these 175 M.P., one hundred have been hitherto always assigned to that part of the march above the Isere, between that river and the first ascent of the Alps. According to this division of the distance, the remaining 75 M.P. must of course be allotted to the march between the passage of the Rhone and the Isere. In this manner the place at which the Rhone was crossed becomes easily discoverable, since to find it we have only to measure 75 M.P. down the stream from its confluence with the Isere. Accordingly, M. Deluc fixes the spot at Roquemaure; and in so doing he is aided by the support of all other writers upon the subject.* It is not, however, surprising that all authorities should agree so cordially upon this point, because the absolute distance of 75 M.P., measured from

* The anonymous author of "Hannibal's Passage of the Alps. By a Member of the University of Cambridge, London, 1830," fixes upon Tarascon as the point of passage.—ED.

the Isere southwards, must always terminate at Roquemaure; and nothing is left to produce any disunion of opinion. Whether this mode of computing the distance is the correct one or not, will be considered hereafter; and it will be shown, that in the number of miles between Tarascon, opposite Beaucaire, and the foot of the Alps, there is nothing which does violence to the 175 of Polybius.

There is still another circumstance which has been called in to assist in determining the place at which the Rhone was passed, of which some notice ought to be taken; it is derived from the words of Polybius already quoted. He is speaking of Hannibal—

σχεδὸν ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδὸν ἀπέχων στρατοπέδῳ τῆς θαλάττης.

“Being distant with his army (or camp) from the sea, a distance of nearly four days.”

This distance has been usually measured from the western mouth of the Rhone, because Scipio had arrived there with his army, on his voyage towards Spain; and *σχεδὸν ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδὸν* is supposed to mean four days *march*. But as Polybius does not tell us that the distance is to be reckoned from that part of the sea-coast, and has not anywhere, that I know of, assigned a definite length for a day's march, any calculations founded upon such constructions are very likely to prove

erroneous. In another part of his work the historian uses the same expression: he is speaking of Clusium, the modern town of Chiusi, in Tuscany. This town, he says, ἀπέχει ἡμερῶν τριῶν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, “is ii. c. 25. three days’ journey from Rome.” Now the distance of Clusium from Rome is nearly 100 Roman miles, which would give upwards of 30 M. P. for a day’s journey—a common distance for a traveller riding the same horse, but which cannot be understood as the daily march of a regular army. What Polybius really does mean by these words is not quite apparent. It would rather seem (but I speak with great diffidence) that some place on the coast of the Mediterranean is intended, which Hannibal had already left behind him in his march from Spain—perhaps the Emporium of Narbonne, which is distant about 110 M. P., nearly four days’ journey of thirty miles a-day, Strabo. and which, from the importance of its resources in early ages, is not unlikely to have detained Hannibal for a short time after he had emerged from the difficult country occupied by the Celts; that is the point also at which mention had been made of the Sardinian sea—that it lay to his right as he proceeded on his march.

Be that as it may, the light afforded us by

Itinéraire
de France,
ii. p. 414.

Polybius is quite enough to conduct us with sufficient certainty to Beaucaire, a place well suited to the encampment of a large force.

“ Sur une eminence qui commande la ville, s’élevait le chateau de Beaucaire, où St. Louis fit bâtir, avant son départ pour la Terre Sainte, une chapelle qu’on y voit encore. Le chateau qui n’existe déjà plus, a remplacé celui de l’antique Ugernum, construit par les Romains; de cette hauteur on jouit d’une magnifique perspective. Sur le bord du Rhône regne une vaste prairie, bordée de longues allées d’ormes et de platanes, qui servent de promenade.”

Here Hannibal lost no time in preparing to carry over his army, and Polybius here begins a sort of diary of the operations, which is kept, with but few interruptions, until the passage of the Alps is completed. The days and nights are not always specified; but when they are, the Greek text will be found inserted in the following arrangement:—

Polyb. iii.
c. 42.

The FIRST night is to be reckoned as succeeding the day of the arrival of the army upon the Rhone.

1st day.—Preparations for crossing are commenced; boats of all sorts are collected, and rafts constructed.

2. Night.

2. Day.—Preparations for crossing are continued with the utmost activity, each individual striving to be independent of his neighbour. At the conclusion of this second day the preparations are completed. *Ἐν δυσὶν ἡμέραις πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον ἐγένετο πορθμείων.* “In two days an innumerable multitude of boats were provided.” In the mean time a band of fierce barbarians had been congregating on the opposite bank, with a view to dispute the passage of the river, and Hannibal had concerted a scheme for their discomfiture.

3. Night.—*Ἐπιγενομένης τῆς τρίτης νυκτὸς.* Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, with a large division of the army, was despatched up the river, under the guidance of some natives, to the distance of 200 stadia, (25 M.P.) where he reached a spot “at which the river happened to be divided by an island.” *Ἐν ᾧ συνέβαινε περὶ τι χωρίον νησίζον περισχίζεσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν.**

3. Day.—Hanno prepared his rafts from the neighbouring wood.

4. Night.—Hanno carried his troops across the river.

* At the distance of 25 M. P. up the river from Beaucaire, we arrive opposite to Caderousse, where there is one of the most considerable islands to be met with in the Rhone—so large as to find a place in maps of a very reduced scale.

4. Day.—Ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν δέμειναν.
Hanno and his men, after taking up a strong position, “remained quiet for the day,” resting themselves after the hardships they had undergone.

c. 43. 5. Night.—Ἐπιγενομένης τῆς πέμπτης νυκτὸς.
“The following night being the fifth,” Hanno set out along the river towards the barbarians, ὑπὸ τὴν ἑωθινὴν (φυλακὴν) “about the morning watch,”* that is, about 3 A. M.

5th day.—As soon as Hanno, by a preconcerted signal of smoke, had made known his approach to Hannibal, the Carthaginians, who were all prepared, dashed across the river in the face of the barbarians, while Hanno fell upon them in the rear. They soon took flight, and the passage of the Rhone was accomplished.

c. 44. 6. Night.—ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν νύκτα. “That night” Hannibal encamped by the side of the river. Tarascon, surrounded with fertile meadows, is as favourable a situation for an army as Beaucaire.

6. Day.—Τῇ δ' ἐπ' αὐριον. “The next morn-

Veget. Re . * The ancients divided the night (from sunrise to sunset)
Mil. iii. 8. into four equal portions or watches. Hannibal crossed the Rhone about the time of the autumnal equinox—when, as the days and nights were of equal length, the morning watch would commence at 3 A. M.

ing" Hannibal, having intelligence of the Romans being at the mouth of the Rhone, despatched 500 of his Numidian cavalry to make a reconnaissance. Preparations were made for getting over the elephants. An assembly of the troops was also held, at which the chieftains from the plains of the Po were introduced; who, by means of interpreters, boasted of their readiness to make common cause against the Romans—and extolled the grandeur and fertility of Italy, to which they held out promises of a safe and speedy march. The general himself next addressed the troops, who manifested the utmost ardour, and he dismissed the assembly, after giving orders to hold themselves in readiness to march the following morning: *ὡς εἰς τὴν αὐριον ἀναζυγῆς ἰσομένης*. After this, the 500 Numidians were driven back into the camp by a detachment of c. 47. Roman and Gaulish horse,* who had been sent out to reconnoitre by Scipio.

* The Gaulish horse were some troops Scipio found at Polyb. lib. Marseilles. Some allusion to them appears to be made in ^{xxxiv.} a fragment of Polybius, not uninteresting to the English ^{frag.} Geogr. reader. It seems that when Scipio questioned them and some other Gauls from Narbonne and other towns, *ὕπερ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς*, "concerning Britain," *οὐδεὶς εἶχε λέγειν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον*, "not one had any thing to say worth remembering!" Polybius may perhaps be speaking of Scipio Africanus, as he calls him "Scipio;" he usually calls the father "Publius."

7. Night.

- c. 46. 7. Day.—Τῇ κατὰ πόδας ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἐκκλησιας.
 “The next day after the assembly,” as soon as it was light, Hannibal posted all his cavalry on guard on the side towards the sea, while the infantry commenced their march. The elephants, thirty-seven in number, were then brought over, and the curious manner in which this was contrived is very circumstantially detailed by Polybius. With these animals and his cavalry, Hannibal proceeded along the river, forming the rear guard of his army. It has been supposed that he was occupied a whole day, or even two days, in transporting the elephants across the Rhone. There is nothing in Polybius to justify this conjecture, nor is it likely the general would have permitted so prolonged a separation of his forces. The cavalry, so remarkable for their celerity, and then fresh after several days’ repose; and the elephants, whose *shuffle* performs eight miles an hour, would soon have overtaken the rest of the army.
- c. 47.

Thus we have Hannibal, with all his army, fairly across the Rhone, and set forth on his march towards the Alps. It now becomes necessary to examine the road he took to reach those mountains.

Three roads leading across the Alps into

Italy, diverge from Tarascon—all of them frequented by the Romans, and known as early as the time of Polybius, for he speaks of them all.

1. One of them takes a south-easterly direction, through the territory of the Ligures, by the maritime Alp—the modern Corniche road by Monaco to Genoa. This is celebrated in the verses of Virgil as one of the roads by which the legions of Julius Cæsar poured down upon Italy—

*Aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monæci
Descendens; gener adversis instructus Eois.*

Æneid. vi.

2. The second bears due east upon leaving Tarascon, and then, in a north easterly direction by the valley of the Durance, ascends the Cottian Alp, the modern Mont Genevre. This, of all the passes of the Alps, was the most frequented by the Romans, as leading to a great part of Gaul, to the Province, and to Spain. The new and magnificent road across this mountain was the last undertaken by Bonaparte.

3. The third road kept along the left bank of the Rhone, due north from Tarascon, as far as the territory of the Allobroges; after passing through them, it traversed the Graian Alp, and descended into Italy by the valley inhabited by the Salassi—that is, in modern geography, up the Rhone as far as the depart-

ment of the Isere, then to the Little St. Bernard, and thence into Italy by the valley of Aosta.*

By one of these routes Hannibal had to make his way from Tarascon to Italy; and the words *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*, "along the river," which frequently occur in Polybius, immediately discover that it was by the road up the Rhone, towards the Graian Alp.

Along this road, then, by the side of the river, we find Hannibal pressing forward with

Strabo,
lib. iv.

* It is Strabo who informs us that these three passes, together with one other by the Rhoëtian Alps, are mentioned by Polybius—his words are important.

Παλῶβας—*Τέτταρες δ' ὑπερβάσεις δρομίζει μόνον διὰ Λαγῶν μὲν, τὴν ἑγγιστα τῇ Τυβέρηνικῃ πελάγει· ἔτι τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν· ἔτι τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν· τετάρτην δὲ, τὴν διὰ Παυῶν.* If these words are really the words of Polybius, and are to be preferred to the whole of the existing history, we may spare ourselves any farther trouble in seeking for a road for Hannibal across the Alps; because he is here decidedly stated to have gone by the country of the Taurini, which means by the Cottian Alp; and we must be content to remain for ever dissatisfied with the whole narrative of the march of Hannibal, which is completely at variance with this road. But it is evident that Strabo is not quoting any particular passage of Polybius, but merely enumerating the only four roads through the Alps mentioned by that author in different parts of his history. The interpolation, therefore, of *ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν*, is only a parenthetical comment, a *gloss* of Strabo's own, and not to be considered as quoted from Polybius.

all possible expedition;* “and after having marched,” says Polybius, “for four days in succession, subsequent to the passage of the river, he came to a place called the Island.”

Ἀννίβας δὲ ποιησάμενος ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τέτταρας ἡμέρας c. 49.
τὴν πορείαν ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως, ἦκε πρὸς τὴν καλου-
μένην Νῆσον.

The Island,† or “Insula Allobrogum,” is well known, and Polybius’s description of it

* Προῆγε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ θαλάττης· ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω c. 47.
ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον τῆς Εὐρώπης.

“He proceeded along the river away from the sea,—thus marching first towards the east, then into the midland of Europe.” I have never seen any satisfactory explanation of this sentence. Hannibal unquestionably marched up the Rhone, that is, northwards, towards the heart of Europe; but ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω, “towards the east,” seems utterly unintelligible. I have placed the stop which usually follows the word ποταμὸν, after θαλάττης; and if we can understand the rest of the sentence to the march in general quite from Spain, Hannibal might safely be said to advance first “towards the east,” then, crossing the Rhone and turning along the river away from the sea, “towards the centre of Europe.” Some objection has been made to any passage of the Rhone below its confluence with the Durance, thereby incurring the necessity of crossing that river also; but the Durance in the autumn, at which time of the year Hannibal reached it, presents no sort of difficulty.

† The “Insula” is composed of the first, second, and almost the whole of the third arrondissement of the department of the Isere, together with five cantons of the first arrondissement of the department of the Drome; and the

which follows, is perfectly applicable to its present condition. It lies almost entirely within the department of the Isere, and was called an Island because the Rhone to the north and west, the Isere to the south, and the mountains of the Grande Chartreuse to the east, completely insulate it; and those who have visited this beautiful country can vouch for the justness of the appellation.

The distance of this island is about one hundred Roman miles from Tarascon,* which may appear an enormous space to be traversed by the Carthaginian army in so short a time as four days. Twenty-five miles per day is unquestionably a severe march; but it is in perfect accordance with the usual pace of Hannibal, who fell like a thunderbolt upon Italy, with a rapidity that not only amazed the conscript fathers at Rome, who found him upon the Po almost before they fancied him upon the Ebro; but excited the astonishment even of Scipio, who was himself dis-

population, according to a recent census, amounts to about 366,000 souls. Some of the richest land in France is to be met with in this district.

* The distance between the Isere and Roquemaure is stated by the Oxford authors to be precisely 75 miles; that between Roquemaure and Tarascon, measured on their map, is about 25—making altogether 100 M. P.

tinguished by the celerity of his movements. Hannibal had every reason for hastening the march—the wild country, and wilder tribes which encompassed him—the advanced season of the year—the precipitation of youthful ambition,* and, above all, an ardent desire to anticipate the Romans in his descent upon Italy,—all conspired to urge him onwards; while his army, devotedly attached to its general, and then particularly described as *c. 35.* being *ευζωνον*, exhibited an impatience equal to his own—even the Roman,

patriis acer Romanus in armis,
Injusto sub fasce viam quum carpit, et hosti
Ante expectatum positus stat in agmine castris.

Virg.
Georg. iii.

The Roman soldier, with the enormous burden he was compelled to carry, performed from twenty to twenty-two miles, as an ordinary day's march; and we shall find that even in the Alps, the Carthaginians did as much, or even more than that, for the three last days of their descent.

Cic. Tusc.
Qu. ii. 14.
Veget. de
Re. Mil.
i. 19.
—9.

* Hannibal was at this time about twenty-eight or twenty-nine years of age. The age of Bonaparte, when he made his first campaign to Italy, was twenty-six; he crossed the Great St. Bernard when he was thirty. Polybius speaks *iii. c. 15.* of Hannibal *ἄτε νέος μὲν ὢν, πλήρης δὲ πολεμικῆς ὀρμῆς, ἐπιτυχῆς, δὲν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς.*

The arrival of Hannibal at the island was followed by some remarkable occurrences. He here found two brothers in arms against each other, contending for the sovereignty of some Celtic tribe, the name of which is not given by Polybius. The Carthaginian general turned this quarrel to his own advantage; for, by lending his assistance to the elder brother, and dispossessing the younger, he so far gained the good-will of the successful chieftain, as to receive from him in return some very important favours. The Carthaginians obtained from the grateful barbarian a fresh supply of provisions and arms—of clothing and of shoes; which latter equipment they found of infinite use when they reached the higher parts of the mountains; but the greatest service of all that he rendered them, was, that while they were looking with anxiety towards the march through the country of the Gauls, called Allobroges—*ἐνλαβῶς διακειμένοις πρὸς τὴν διὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων καλουμένων Γαλατῶν πορείαν*, he protected the rear of the army with his own forces, covering their march, and rendering their passage secure, while they neared the main ascent of the Alps.

c 49.

But,

“ As one who on his journey bates at noon,
Though bent on speed,”

so must we pause awhile, and take into consideration whereabouts Hannibal had halted, and who these barbarians were, from whom he received so much assistance.

In the slender materials as yet extracted from Polybius, we have not sufficient light to elucidate these two points fully; but we may find something to assist us in the research.

Out of the three expressions,

ἦκε πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην Νῆσον,

πρὸς ἣν ἀφικόμενος,

and καταλαβὼν ἐν αὐτῇ,

the last alone seems to indicate the arrival of Hannibal *in* the island. Even that might have the word χώρα understood meaning the place which Hannibal had reached; but if it must be considered as applied to the Νῆσος, still it does not bear out the conjecture that he had made any progress in that country. On the contrary, that he had not advanced into it, we may collect both from the transaction with the barbarians being described as occurring immediately after the four days' march, without notice of any subsequent movement, and from the sentence quoted above—"That the army was under great apprehensions at the prospect of the march through the country of the Gauls, called Allobroges." Now, the Allobroges occupied the whole Insula, which

bore the name of the *Insula Allobrogum* ; and if the army was looking forward with dismay towards the march through the country of the *Allobroges*, it does not appear probable that they were further advanced than the mere confines of that people. The army had just grounds for its apprehensions. We shall find, as we proceed, that they were on the eve of entering a very difficult country, and the *Allobroges* are invariably represented as enemies using every effort to obstruct the march, until Hannibal completely routed them and sacked their city. Some writers have supposed that these friendly barbarians were a conciliated portion of the *Allobrogian* tribe : nothing in *Polybius* warrants this conjecture ; he never says so, nor can it even be inferred from any of his expressions : if they were not *Allobroges*, they must have been the distinct people who occupied the adjoining country on the south bank of the *Isere*, and these were the *Segalauni*.*

* The *Segalauni* might, perhaps, have had some lands on the north bank of the *Isere*, although that river would seem to form their natural boundary : outlying possessions of a similar description are recorded as belonging to other *Gallic* tribes. Three instances mentioned by *Cæsar* present themselves at this moment :—

I. The *Allobroges* occupied certain lands on the right bank of the *Rhone*. (B. G. i. 11.)

If we cast our eyes on any map of that part of France which once bore the name of Dauphiny, we perceive that the three towns of Valence, (Valentia,) Romans, and Tain, (Tegna,) form a nearly equilateral triangle; the Rhone flows on its western side, while the Isere, running from the eastern angle at Romans, divides the figure into nearly equal portions. Somewhere within the limits of this triangle, at one or other, perhaps, of the above-mentioned towns, the Carthaginians must have fallen in with their anonymous friends; and there, during a few days' halt, prepared themselves for ulterior and more hazardous operations. These extended limits are allowed for the purpose of allaying the alarms of those who, arguing from the words *ἐν ἀντιῷ*, require Hannibal to be positively within the Insula. In my own mind, I have not the slightest doubt but that Valence was the scene of these operations. Its distance from the place where the Rhone was passed is exactly, or almost exactly, 800 stadia, 100 M. P., and it will be shown that its position equally well agrees with the distance assigned to the first ascent

II. The Rhemi had some establishment north of the Axona (Aisne.) (B. G. ii. 6.)

III. The Menapii are represented as having possessions beyond the Rhine. (B. G. iv. 4.)

of the Alps. Hannibal is dealing with a people who are evidently *not* the Allobroges, and can therefore be no other than the Segalauni, of whom Valence was the capital ; at Valence, too, the high-road turns away from the river, and leads directly towards the Alps. How far this position agrees with Hannibal's subsequent proceedings we shall discover as we follow him on his march.

Hannibal has now to proceed on his march, and at this point, all the doubts, difficulties, and disputes of all writers who undertake to trace his progress, have their origin. The Roman historian, who leads the literary host, makes the Carthaginians, after marching continually to the northward, now turn sharply round towards the south-east, and pursue their way to the Cottian Alp. In this he is followed by several authors, who, in fruitless attempts to produce harmony between him and Polybius, conduct Hannibal along the south side of the Isere to the Mont Genevre, or to the Mont Cenis. Others, again, abandoning Livy, have *almost* proved, from Polybius alone, that Hannibal marched a considerable way along the Rhone above its confluence with the Isere ; and then, crossing the " Insula," and the mountains, which form its eastern side, in the neighbourhood of Les

Echeltes, found his way to the valley of the Little St. Bernard by the town of Chambery, the ancient Lemincum. Above all, the erudite historian of Manchester, who has written copiously on the question, has astonished all those who have considered the subject, by boldly carrying Hannibal by an inexplicable route, to the foot of the Alps at Martigny, and thence across the Great St. Bernard.

The only roads by which Hannibal could possibly have gained the *Cottian* Alp from his position near the confluence of the Isere and the Rhone, are the following:—

I. The road by which Livy conducts the Carthaginians, was one which any Roman traveller in the days of Livy would probably have chosen. It led from Valence up the valley of the Druna, (Drome,) the country of the Vocontii, and thence by Vapincum, (Gap,) into the valley of the Durance, occupied by the Caturiges. The Saltus Taurinus, or *Alpis Cottia*, now the Mont Genevre, is at the sources of the Durance. By this road we find *Cæsar* at the head of five legions hurrying from Italy to oppose the Helvetii,* and *Fabius Valens* from the Rhine leading a division

Cæsar. c. i.
Tacit.
Hist. i. 46.
Gibbon, c.
xiv.

* *Cæsar* was opposed by the *Centrones*, the *Garoceli*, and the *Caturiges*—the inhabitants of the high valleys of the *Isere*, the *Arc*, and the *Durance*. These mountaineers

of Vitellius's army against Otho. Constantine, too, on his way to seize the empire, and change the condition of the world. It seems to have become the most frequented passage of the mountains, after the Emilian Way and other roads on the Italian side had opened a more direct communication with the Cottian Alp.

There is no road of any magnitude from Valence along the south bank of the Isère, owing to the impracticable nature of the country. But,

II. Upon reaching the Drac, which falls into the Isère just below Grenoble, a road leads up the valley of that river, formerly the country of the Tricorii, to Gap, and so to the Cottian Alp.

III. From this road, another diverges, from the banks of the Drac up the valley of a tributary river, called the Romanche, anciently inhabited by the Uceni; and this road, which is given in the Theodosian Table, reaches the

would easily have communicated by the Col de la Vanoise between the Isère and the Arc; and by the Col de Galibier between the Arc and the Durance. Both these Cols were frequented during the wars in the Alps, in the time of Louis XIV. (See *the Memoires of Marshall Berwick*, vol. ii.) Cæsar treats the attacks of these people with great indifference, "Compluribus his pulsus præliis," etc.

foot of the Cottian Alp at Brigantio (Briançon.)

IV. The fourth and last road, leading, not indeed to the Mont Genevre, but to the Mont Cenis,—and thus not to the Cottian Alp, strictly speaking,—is the famous modern road well known to all the world. It follows the stream of the Arc up the valley formerly inhabited by the Garoceli; but although so easy a pass to the modern traveller, there is no authority for believing it to have been used by the ancients.

All these roads have their respective advocates, in the hopeless task of making Livy agree with Polybius; the result is, that they accord with neither the Latin nor the Greek historian.

To reach the *Graian* Alp from the neighbourhood of Valence, Hannibal would have had two roads:

I. One, Roman through its whole extent, which would have led him to the north along the Rhone, as far as Vienne, the ancient “Vienna Allobrogum,” the capital of the “Insula;” thence nearly due east over the Mont du Chat, where it would fall into the plain of Chambery, and afford an easy approach to the valley of Little St. Bernard. It is in this direction that General Melville, and those

writers who have adopted his opinion, conduct the Carthaginians; and so ably has this theory been supported, that to dispute it may appear almost like presumption. Nevertheless, after having been a complete convert to it myself for a length of time, some recent reflection upon the subject has allowed me to perceive it was not without difficulties, which, added to some further examination of the country, has led me to its abandonment, and, finally, to the adoption of a new line of march, which I now bring forward with a thorough conviction of its accuracy. The road which appears to me to be the right one is,

II. A road from Valence, short, obvious, and direct, up the valley of the Isere, crossing that river at Romans into the country of the Allobroges; and thence, by Grenoble, the ancient Gratianopolis, and still more ancient Cularo, to the entrance of the valley of the Little St. Bernard at Mont Meillan. It may, perhaps, *in limine* be objected to this road, that it was not open in the time of the Romans, for it is not mentioned in their Itineraries; but are we to imagine that so ostensible a line of communication, along so magnificent a valley, containing so antique and celebrated a city, and in which we now find a great road of unknown origin, could

ever have been destitute of a way up and down it, even in the earliest ages? It certainly seems strange that no Roman road through it is upon record; but Valence communicated with Italy by the Cottian Alps, while Vienna and Lyons, on the north, reached the Graian Alp by the Mont du Chat. No *post* road, therefore, would have been wanted between Valence and Mont Meillan; but I shall adduce one proof that some sort of road existed there as early as about B. C. 40—"Consule Planco," the materials of which are collected from the 10th and 11th books of Cicero's Letters.

Lucius Munatius Plancus, at the head of an army in Gaul, dates a letter to Cicero from Cularo.* He was there evidently communicating both up and down the valley, because on the west he had thrown a bridge across the Isere, near its union with the Rhone; and on the east he was expecting to be joined by the forces of Decimus Brutus, who, at that time, was at Eporedia, Ivrea in Piedmont, and consequently intending to pass the Graian Alp.

Up the valley of the Isere, by way of Gre-

* It is true that this date is commonly written, "*Civaronne, ex finibus Allobrogum*," which is clearly a mistake for "*Cularone*."

noble, (the straightest road towards the Alps,) I conceive Hannibal to have marched from the city of Valence ; whether along a Roman highway or not is of little consequence, for we are not now, as we were, between the Pyrenees and the Rhone, restricted to “a road measured and marked by the Romans.”

Polybius thus resumes the narrative—

c. 50.

Ἀννίβας δ' ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα—πορευθεὶς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους, ἤρξατο τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεὶς ἀναβολῆς.

“Hannibal, after ten days, having marched along the Rhone to the distance of 800 stadia, began the ascent towards the Alps.”

The historian here sums up the time and distance passed by Hannibal on the banks of the Rhone previous to his striking away from that river towards the Alps. The 800 stadia, or 100 M. P., is exactly the distance between Tarascon and Valence ; and the ten days seem to be composed of the four days' march from Tarascon, added to six which we may safely assign as the period of his stay among the friendly barbarians.

In common with the other readers of Polybius, I had always, until lately, believed that this distance of 800 stadia along the Rhone, ought to be measured north of its confluence with the Isere, apparently for no better reason

than because it happens to be mentioned after the notice of Hannibal's arrival at the Insula. But there is nothing in Polybius that supports such a notion ; and two reasons out of many will be sufficient to allege against it ; perhaps after the first is stated, the second may be deemed superfluous.

I. In the first place, *the thing cannot be done*. There is no possibility, with any rational result, to produce a march of 100 M. P. along the river, *after* Hannibal's arrival upon the Isere. Those who carry the Carthaginians to the Cottian Alp, and explain *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν* as meaning the Isere, the Drac, the Romanche, or the Arc, are evidently forcing a meaning from the words, of which they will not admit ; while those who point towards the Graian Alp, allow themselves great latitude, in measuring the distance along the river, for they make Hannibal turn away from it at Vienne, about forty miles only above the Isere, and are satisfied with his approaching it again at Aouste, near the foot of the Mont du Chat.

II. If the 100 M. P. "along the river" are measured *after* Hannibal's arrival at the Insula, wherever they terminate, the Alps ought to begin ; because 75 M. P. having already

been calculated between Roquemaure and the Isere, the whole Polybian distance (175 M. P.) between the passage of the Rhone and the Alps would be completed. But instead of meeting with the Alps, we meet with a battle, and the capture of a town, which is completely at variance with Polybius, who places these events at the interval of two days' march from the foot of the Alps. For we shall find that a halt of one day at the captured town, and a subsequent march of two days, are reckoned among the eighteen days counted between the said town and the plains of the Po; out of which eighteen days, fifteen* only are allotted to the passage of the Alps. It follows, therefore, that the fight with the Allobroges, and the capture of their town, was at the distance of two days' march before the commencement of the Alps.

I might add, that 100 M. P. in ten days—ten miles a day only—would have been extraordinarily slow marching, and so utterly unlike

p. 115.

Tit. Liv.
xxi.
c. 38.

* The Oxford authors are of opinion that we ought to read eighteen instead of fifteen days, in Polybius; because with them the fight with the Allobroges, and the first ascent of the Alps, are contemporaneous events. But Livy, who here translates Polybius, supports the reading, "*Quinto decimo die alpibus superatis.*"

the rest of Hannibal's proceedings, that of itself it is sufficient to create some suspicion of an erroneous interpretation.

It is, then, from the banks of the Rhone, in the vicinity of its confluence with the Isere, that Hannibal, "after ten days, having marched along the river to the distance of 800 stadia," began the ascent *πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς* "*towards the Alps*"—not *τῶν Ἀλπεων* "*of the Alps*"—the first day's march would have carried him to the banks of the Isere, and the hostile territory of the Allobroges, separated by the stream of that river only, lay before him. It will now become necessary to watch his progress with increased vigilance, and to observe in what degree the nature of the country corresponds with the events recorded by Polybius. If this part of the march should be found treated too much in detail, it must be remembered that the topography is new as connected with Hannibal's operations, having never yet been compared with the description given in history; while the author, convinced of the truth of his theory, pleads guilty to the justness of the remark,

"To observations we ourselves do make,
We grow more partial for the observer's sake."

The town of Valence, situated close upon

the left bank of the Rhone, lays claim to an antiquity as remote as almost any town in France, but it has preserved scarce a single relic of its original inhabitants; all that I met with were two insignificant bas-reliefs inserted in the walls of the convent of the Sœurs Grises: one of these marbles, probably a sepulchral memorial, represents a male and female figure, together with two children. In the other fragment an arch is discoverable, under which stand two men—one clad apparently in the “weeds of peace,” the other in the “paludamentum” of war: under an adjoining arch is seen the figure of a soldier seated, and leaning forward on his shield. No inscription which might have recorded the name of the Segalauni was to be heard of; but

Notice de as D’Anville observes, “Ptolémée indiquant
la Gaule, p. 590. *Valentia* chez les *Segalauni*, entre Vienne des *Allobroges* et les *Tricastini*, ne laisse aucun doute sur l’emplacement de ce peuple.”

The distance of Valence from Tarascon agrees so closely with the 100 m. p. “along the river,” of Polybius, that no objection to it on that ground can possibly be raised; while its position *in front* of the “Insula,” being the last town before arriving in that country, and distant not five miles from the Port de

l'Isere, agrees most satisfactorily with the words *πρὸς τὴν* and *πρὸς ἥν*, as used by Polybius. At Valence, the road by which we arrive from Tarascon, divides; forming two branches, between which we have now to choose.

I. One branch continues its course at no great distance from the bank of the Rhone, passing the Isere, near the confluence of the two rivers, over a splendid stone bridge, nearly 200 yards in length, composed of seven arches, of which the last on the northern extremity has never been finished, but remains constructed of wood, to prevent the sacrifice of a stone arch in the event of war: on the southern side, the bridge is approached by a causeway of considerable magnitude; this traverses a low tract of land, cultivated, although the furious devastations of the Isere do not always allow the poor inhabitants to reap what they sow. The road continues along the side of the Rhone without interruption until it reaches Lyons; and being the principal thoroughfare between Marseilles and that city, is thronged with an endless succession of loaded waggons.

II. The other road from Valence, quitting the neighbourhood of the Rhone, and taking a north-easterly direction, broad and straight,

traverses a continued plain, interrupted only by two curious winding hollows in its surface, resembling the deserted beds of rivers. The upper soil of this plain is a gravelly clay, containing large boulders, of which the old battlemented walls and turrets of Valence are constructed. The country is far from beautiful, but well cultivated, and produces great quantities of silk. At the Péage de Pizançon, opposite the town of Romans, the road comes upon the Isere, rolling a very considerable body of water between deep and steep banks of sand and alluvium.

Between these two roads, both conducting us to the "Insula," we have no difficulty in deciding. The distance of 800 stadia, 100 M. P., *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν* "along the river," having expired at Valence, we must at that town turn *away* from the Rhone, and, consequently, take the road leading towards Romans, which not only quits the banks of the river, but encourages us as presenting a most obvious and direct approach towards the Alps. The distance between Valence and Romans is about ten miles. Hannibal would, therefore, easily reach the Péage de Pizançon from Valence in a short day's march; and it probably cost him but little time to carry his army over the Isere. The river is here about 140 yards

across. Plancus, in his letters to Cicero, more than once boasts of his expedition in throwing a bridge across the Isere in a single day. "Itaque in Isará, flumine maximo, quod in finibus est Allobrogum, ponte uno die facto, exercitum a. d. quartum Idus Maii traduxi." This was in the month of May, at which season the waters of this river are not at their greatest height. Polybius does not inform us by what means the Carthaginians contrived to effect their passage: but we may argue from his silence that they encountered no obstacle, and reached the opposite shore of the "Insula" in safety.

Cic. Ep. ad
diver. x. 15.
— 21.

It was at Romans, therefore, that Hannibal entered upon the dreaded territory of the Allobroges "gens," as Livy calls them, "jam inde nullá gallicá gente opibus aut famá inferior;" from whom, when they at last submitted to the Roman arms, one hundred years after the time of Hannibal, a Fabius Maximus did not disdain to receive the honourable appellation of Allobrogicus. They must either have been remarkable for their ferocity, or have from the beginning declared their determination to oppose Hannibal, for his army began to entertain apprehensions of them even before it entered their territories. Hannibal had now fairly invaded the "Insula."

Tit. Liv.
xxi. 31.

Polyb. iii.
50.

Καὶ συνέβη μεγίστοις αὐτὸν περιπεσεῖν κινδύνους.

“ And it happened that very great dangers befell him.”

But not immediately, for Polybius goes on to inform us that,

ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις ἦσαν, ἀπείχοντο πάντες αὐτῶν οἱ κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμόνες τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων, τὰ μὲν τοὺς ἱππεῖς δεδιότες, τὰ δὲ τοὺς παραπέμποντας βαρβάρους.

“ As long as they (the Carthaginians) were in the plains, all the chieftains of the Allobroges, in succession, kept aloof from them, some fearing the cavalry, others the barbarians who accompanied the army.”

For some time, therefore, we are not to expect to meet any mountains; and we shall observe in the sequel how far an open country answering that description will be found to extend.

Leaving the old walls and battlements of Romans behind us, we ascend to a wide elevated plain, across which the road, broad, direct, and lined on each side with mulberry and walnut trees, stretches for about seven miles as straight as an arrow towards the Poste of Les Fauris. On looking back, the view to the westward is bounded by the distant hazy hills of the Viverrais beyond the Rhone; on our right, on the opposite side of the Isere, a

fine range of limestone mountains takes a course from south-west to north-east. We see their sides, which form the boundary of the low country in that direction, riven and split into the most fantastic and picturesque gorges, cliffs, and chasms, one of which, at Pont en Royans, is a favourite resort of the Parisian artists. A low range of undulating sand-hills, forming a semicircular sweep from Romans to Les Fauris, bounds the plain towards the north. These hills, compared with the plain, have a sterile aspect ; they are, nevertheless, extensively cultivated, and the vine thrives in many places along their sides. They are, in fact, a part of the same range, which, at its western extremity, near Tain, upon the Rhone, after undergoing a change of soil, produces the famous Vin de l'Ermitage ; and there an acre of its slope sells for a thousand guineas. These hills confine the view on the north, and by approaching the Isere at Les Fauris, they oblige the road to descend close to the river, and to continue under their sandstone cliffs and slopes until it emerges again, after passing the stream of the Furand. We pass this torrent, which, although generally a mere rivulet, is sometimes a considerable river, by a ford. Its waters, some years ago, carried away a stone bridge, which has not yet been replaced.

The ruins of an ancient château, which once defended the passage, are seen upon the heights to the left. Many such old dilapidated forts are scattered over this country once tenanted by the powerful and turbulent Seigneurs of Dauphiny, the successors, and probably no bad representatives, of the Allobrogian chieftains of the days of Hannibal. Rising from the bed of the Furand, we find ourselves again upon a plain similar to the last; the sand-hills once more retire to the left; they are now more wooded, and many houses are visible on their sides. On the right, the plain through which the Isere flows, in a bed too deep to admit of its being visible, reaches to the foot of the lofty limestone mountains of Sassenage, which we begin to perceive we are approaching in an oblique direction. The road again continues in a perfectly straight line for some miles, until it reaches the little town of St. Marcellin, where the sand-hills, having formed another semi-circular sweep, again come in contact with it. From the terrace above St. Marcellin, on the north, near the château of Bellevue, we command a magnificent prospect—a plain on each side of the town, traversed by our road, lies to the west and east. In front is expanded all the rich valley intermediate between us

and the Sassenage mountains ; these are now so near that all their romantic crevices are perfectly distinguishable, and are lighted up to great advantage by an evening sun. The most remarkable are, one towards Pont en Royans before mentioned, and another at Iseron, further to the east. Between the two, overhanging a ravine, we see the ruins of the ancient Castle of Beauvoir, once the residence of the old Dauphins ; where, in 1335, André, the infant heir of Humbert II., the last of the Dauphins, came to some doubtful and untimely end. The little inn of St. Marcellin, Le petit Paris, enjoys the distinction of being noticed by the “ Hermite en Provence :” the talkative old landlord, *l'historien des vignes de l'Isere*, appears to have been gathered unto his fathers, but his cellar and good cheer survive in great perfection ; and mine hostess makes amends for the unpromising exterior of her mansion by supplying her guests with excellent beds. After traversing another plain upon quitting St. Marcellin, we again meet the sand-hills, and are near enough to the Isere to see it flowing in a deep channel at their base : their slopes are a mixture of cultivation and coppices of Spanish chesnut. We descend again at the mill of Tesche ; the plain now assumes a very

luxuriant aspect, and is well protected on the north by the sand-hills, which are here completely covered with a rich clothing of vines. In the middle of the plain stands Vinay, at the extremity Lalbenc. We now commence an ascent winding between the hills, which undulate agreeably, and are covered with brushwood. Among them, in a little elevated plain, the village of Chantese is prettily situated. Ascending again, we find ourselves considerably above the Isere and its plain. Connected with the sand-hills on which we are, and at no great distance on the right of our road, we may observe low blocks of limestone appearing in several places, remarkable as being detached from the massive range of that rock on the other side of the Isere. Just before we commence the descent of these hills, and about a quarter of an hour before reaching Tullins, at the inn of Morette, we come upon a fine bold "bout du monde," presenting a magnificent prospect. A plain of extraordinary fertility lies below us; the hills on which we stand forming a semicircular bend to the north, are connected at their eastern extremity with the fine craggy mountains of the Grande Chartreuse, which rise immediately in front of us to the eastward. Those of Sassenage on our right are nearer and more

magnificent than ever ; and the Isere, in a wide straggling current, is seen emerging from the jaws of its valley at Voreppe. Near this town the precipices of the Sassenage and the cliffs of the Grande Chartreuse lock so closely, that the entrance of the valley leading to Grenoble is, in some lights, absolutely indistinguishable, and we are at a loss to know whence the river can possibly come. Tullins is nearly at the bottom of the descent ; the adjacent country is some of the richest of all the rich vale of Grésivaudan ; a proverb exists, “ Si le Dauphiné était un Mouton Tullins en serait le rognon.” Through this luxuriant tract we continue until we arrive at Moirans. Moirans is the ancient Morginum, and is thus noticed by D’Anville :—“ On trouve ce lieu dans la Table Théodosienne sur la route de Vienne à *Cularo* ou Grenoble—et la distance à l’égard de *Cularo* est marquée XIII. Cette distance est tres-convenable entre Grenoble et Moirans selon la mesure du mille comme on ne peut se dispenser de l’employer dans l’étendue de la Province Romaine, et le nom de Moirans conserve encore du rapport à la denomination qui donne la Table. Dans les titres du Dauphiné ce nom est *Moirencum*, et il n’est pas encore hors

Notice de
la Gaule,
p. 463.

d'usage d'écrire Moirenc." This is the first town since leaving Valence that is noticed by any Roman writer, or in any of the Itinéraires. No doubt, however, can be entertained of a road having existed from the earliest periods, and kept the very line we now travel. Along this line are seated the towns of Romans, St. Marcellin, Vinay, Lalbenc, and Tullins, and have so existed immemorially; while the wrecks of numerous old castles, destined for the defence or plunder of the country, point out this as the principal line of communication.

At Moirans we are almost at the extremity of the plains. In less than an hour from it we find ourselves immediately under an abrupt escarpment of limestone rocks, which extending from Voreppe upon the Isere to St. Genix upon the Rhone, completely shut up the "Insula" on the east with a natural wall of precipices, well described by Polybius as

iii. 49. ὄρη δυσπρόσοδα καὶ δυσέμβολα, καὶ σχεδὸν, ὡς ἐπείν, ἀπρόσιτα.

"Mountains hard of approach and ascent, and almost, one might say, inaccessible."

These are the mountains, in the heart of which, at a great elevation, encircled by rocks, forests, and waterfalls of the most

terrific grandeur, stands the famous monastery of the Grande Chartreuse.

“ Del rigido Brunon segreta stanza.”

Those awful mountain solitudes where the imagination of Gray discovered the haunt of the “ Spirit of the Fell.”

“ Non leve
Nativa nam certè fluenta
Numen habet, veteresque sylvas,
Præsentio rem et conspicimus Deum
Per invias rupes, fera per juga,
Clivosque præruptos, sonantes
Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem.”

At the foot of these mountains, the plains, such as I have described them, come to an end. These were the plains traversed by the Carthaginians under the escort of the friendly barbarians. It must have been at Moirans that this people took leave of Hannibal ; by venturing to accompany him farther into the narrow valley of the Isere, they might have compromised the security of their march homewards. Moirans may be about thirty-two miles from Romans—two easy days’ march. St. Marcellin, which is exactly half-way, was perhaps the spot, then some Allobrogian village, at which the army halted during the night.

The chieftains* of the Allobroges *κατὰ μέρος*, “in detail,” had hitherto offered no interruption to the march of the Carthaginians; but we now find them collecting together a sufficient force, and projecting a combined attack upon Hannibal, to be made at a certain part of the road farther on, where the nature of the ground afforded them peculiar advantages.

50. *ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἑκείνοι μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπηλλάγησαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἤρξαντο προάγειν εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας, τότε συναθροισθέντες οἱ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων ἡγεμόνες, ἰκανὸν τὸ πλῆθος, προκατελάβοντο τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους, δι’ ὧν ἔδει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν κατ’ ἀνάγκην ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἀναβολήν.*

“But when they (the friendly barbarians) turned back to their own country, and Hannibal’s people began to approach the difficult places, then the chieftains of the Allobroges, collecting together a sufficient number, pre-

Polyb. ii. 17. B. G. vi. 15. M. G. xiii. ch. xiii. * These Allobrogian chieftains were probably the heads of separate clans. We find the Cisalpine Gauls prided themselves on the number of followers they could retain. Cæsar tells the same of the Gauls in general; and Tacitus in like manner describes the sort of clanship that existed in Germany. This state of society is, in fact, common to all barbarous nations. It is justly remarked by Gibbon, that “many of those institutions, referred by an easy solution to the feudal system, are derived from the Celtic barbarians.”

occupied the advantageous positions, through which it was absolutely necessary for Hannibal's men to make a passage."

We shall discover, as we proceed, where these *δυσχωραὶ* and *εὐκαίροι τόποι* are to be found; in the mean time, it is only necessary to remark, that the words *κατ' ἀνάγκην* imply but *one single pass*, through which alone the march could possibly be effected. This would clearly be the case if an army had got into the valley of the Isere, on the southern side of the "Insula," by Voreppe; whereas, from St. Genix, at the northern extremity of the mountainous range, the Mont du Chat, the Montagne de l'Épine, and the Aiguebellette, each offer roads much alike in point of practicability, and consequently the words *κατ' ἀνάγκην* are inapplicable to any one of them.

To proceed—Polybius informs us, that had the enemy but kept their intentions secret, they must infallibly have destroyed the Carthaginian army; but, as their design became apparent, although they did great injury to Hannibal, they suffered no less severely themselves in return.

Γρὺς γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Καρχηδονίων, ὅτι προκατέχουσιν οἱ βαρβάραι τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους,

αὐτὸς μὲν καταστρατοπεδεύσας πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, ἐπέμενε.

“But the general of the Carthaginians, knowing that the barbarians were pre-occupying the advantageous positions, remained himself encamped in front of the heights.”

It is quite impossible to hesitate for a moment in perceiving that this place of Hannibal's encampment, πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, was at Moirans, or in its immediate vicinity. It is so clearly “just in front of the heights” of the Grande Chartreuse, and so ostensible a situation for a halt, while the plans of the enemy in advance were investigated, that no doubt can be entertained upon the subject. Voreppe is almost too much within the entrance of the valley to come under the definition of πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, “in front of,” or “before the heights.” Moirans stands upon a knoll, surrounded by a plain of uncommon fertility, with a stream of water flowing by its side, and presents every convenience for the stay of an army.

Hannibal, therefore, remained himself encamped at Moirans.

c. 50. προέπεμψε δὲ τινὰς τῶν καθηγουμένων αὐτοῖς Γαλατῶν, χάριν τοῦ κατασκέψασθαι τὴν τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐπίνοιαν, καὶ τὴν ὅλην ὑπόθεσιν.

“But he sent forward some of the Gauls, who acted as their guides, for the purpose of discovering the resolution of the enemy, and the whole design.”

These were the Gauls from the plains of the Po, who accompanied the army, and are described by Livy as “*haud sane multum linguâ moribusque abhorrentes.*” They must have had some means of ingratiating themselves with the Allobroges, for it appears their mission succeeded. Tit. Liv. xxi. 32.

ὡν πραξάντων τὸ συνταχθῆν, ἐπιγνοὺς ὁ στρα- Polyb. iii. c. 50.
τηγός, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐπιμελῶς παρευτακτοῦσι
καὶ τηροῦσι τοὺς τόπους οἱ πολέμοι, τὰς δὲ νύκτας
εἰς τινα παρακειμένην πόλιν ἀπαλλάττονται· πρὸς
ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀρμοζόμενος, συνεστήσατο
πρᾶξιν τοιαύτην.

“These men having executed what was enjoined, the general, informed that the enemy carefully guarded and watched the positions every day, but retired every night to an adjacent town, arranging his plans to meet this design, determined upon the following mode of action.”

Putting his army in motion, προῆγεν ἐμφανῶς,
“he advanced openly.”

Soon after leaving Moirans, we come in face of the valley, up which we gain an insight to a considerable distance. The detached and

abrupt mountain which overhangs the village of La Buiserade, about a mile from the gates of Grenoble, forms the last and most conspicuous object on the left. At Voreppe the valley is entered, lying in all its beauty and richness between arid walls of precipitous mountains. We pass the village of Fontanils, with its enormous masses of limestone, fallen in former ages from the cliffs above. We look up the ravine formed by the torrent of the Tenaïson ; in the middle of which rises a mountain peaked with a pinnacle of rock in a most remarkable manner ; through this opening ascends the road to the village of Sapey, one of the approaches to the Grande Chartreuse. We now arrive immediately under the towering precipice of the mountain above La Buiserade. Winding round the foot of this stupendous crag, we meet in both the country and the road so remarkable a change as to demand very particular notice. The plain now lies entirely on the opposite, the *left* bank of the Isere, which, while it turns the angle formed by the southern point of the Grande Chartreuse mountains, flows immediately at their base. A steep talus, composed of the wreck and rubbish of the rocks above, extends from La Buiserade on the west, to La Trorche on the east of Grenoble. About the

middle of this talus a ridge of the rock itself bearing the name of Mont Rachais descends quite to the Isere, and forms the cliffs overhanging the river. By the Mont Rachais, which is, as it were, the citadel of the city, Grenoble is concealed from our view ; but two forts, one the old Tower of Rabot, standing near the edge of the cliffs ; the other, far higher, called the Bastille, are very conspicuous. The *modern* road, after rising from La Buiserade to St. Martin-le-Vinoux, sinks again to the bank of the Isere, and enters Grenoble by the Porte de France, immediately under the cliffs, where the space between the rock and the river cannot exceed fifty feet. The *ancient* road, still perfectly distinguishable, turned more to the left, and passing along the talus, now covered with vines and fruit-trees, reached the heights of Mont Rachais near Fort Rabot. Such is the country, and such the objects we come upon at La Buiserade. They will shortly require some further examination ; but the first burst of it all upon the view, is sufficient to show that here, along these declivities and rocky heights, are the *δυσχωρίαι*, through which the Carthaginians had of necessity to pass ; there, at the Bastille, are the *ευκαίριοι τόποι*, “ the advantageous positions,” commanding the road

across Mont Rachais, daily guarded by the Allobroges ; and in Grenoble, the ancient Cularo, we find, beyond all doubt, the “ adjacent town ” to which they retired during the night.

But to return to Hannibal, who from Moirans “ advanced openly.”

c. 50.

Καὶ συνεγγίσας ταῖς δυσχωρίαις, οὐ μακρὰν τῶν πολεμίων κατεστρατοπέδευσε.

“ And having drawn near to the difficult places, he encamped at no great distance from the enemy.”

Whatever security we may have experienced in fixing upon Moirans as the place of his last encampment, is nothing compared with the certainty with which we now see him taking up a position at La Buiserade. At La Buiserade “ the difficult places ” begin, and La Buiserade is “ at no great distance ” from either “ the advantageous positions,” or the town occupied by the enemy. We derive additional evidence from the succeeding sentence :—

c. 50.

Τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης, συντάξας τὰ πυρὰ καίειν, τὸ μὲν πλεῖον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε· τοὺς δ' ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ἐνζώνους ποιήσας, διῆλθε τὰ στενὰ τὴν νύκτα, καὶ κατέσχε τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προκαταληφθέντας τόπους, ἀποκεχωρηκότων τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

“ But the following night, having com-

manded the fires to be lighted, he left the greater part of his forces there; and having caused the most proper men to arm themselves lightly, he passed through the narrow places during the night, and seized the positions deserted by the enemy; the barbarians having, according to custom, retired to the city."

From these words it would appear that the Allobroges were not likely to have descended from the heights until after they had observed the fires burning in Hannibal's camp, and were persuaded the Carthaginians were quietly settled for the night. The position of the encampment must therefore have been visible from these heights. Now, La Buiserade is the only situation along the valley, which, without being *upon* "the difficult places"—that is, upon the slope between the mountains and the Isere above described—is discernible from the heights of Mont Rachais. Every thing, before arriving at La Buiserade, is completely concealed by that lofty mountain, already mentioned as overhanging that village. No doubt, then, can exist as to the exact spot of this encampment. It was from La Buiserade, therefore, that Hannibal with some choice troops lightly armed, passing along the road, narrow and difficult as it now became, ascended Mont Rachais, and took

possession of the heights of the Bastille, while the Allobroges were sleeping securely in their town below.

Where was this town? The exact position of Grenoble, when in its earliest days it bore the name of Cularo, has never been positively ascertained. It is very certain that it stood on the *right* bank of the Isere; and the quarter of the modern town still on that side of the river, although a mere suburb, is always looked upon as the most ancient portion of the city. It is composed of one long street between the river and the rock, bearing at one extremity the name of St. Laurent, at the other that of La Perrière; between the two is the "Montée de Chalemont," (Scala Montis,) by which a road ascended the heights of Mont Rachais. It is scarcely possible that so confined and inconvenient a situation, pressed on one side by the river, on the other by the rock, and exposed to inundations and "éboulemens," could ever have been the site of the ancient Cularo. La Tronche, a little further eastward, presents a much more probable position. At La Tronche there is a rising ground, agreeably placed between the plain and the talus of the mountains, chosen by the citizens of Grenoble for the situation of their villas: here, too, is a stream, and

here is the "Peage de la Tronche,"* the ferry across the Isere, which has existed from the earliest times. The modern city, with the exception of St. Laurent and La Perrière, is situated entirely on the left bank of the river. It was first enlarged on that side by the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian. The road from Rome to Vienne passed through the town, and the inscriptions placed by the Emperors over the gateways are still upon record. That upon the Roman, or Jovian gate, was thus worded—

DD. NN. IMP. CÆS. CAIVS. AVRELIVS. DIO-
CLETIANVS. PIVS. FELIX. INVICTVS. AVG. ET.
IMP. CÆS. MARCVS. AVRELIVS. MAXIMIANVS.
PIVS. FELIX. INVICTVS. AVG. MVRIS. CVLARO-
NENSIBVS. CVM. INTERIORIBVS. ÆDIFICIIS. PRO-
VIDENTIA. SVA. INSTITVTIS. ATQVE. PERFECTIS.
PORTAM. ROMANAM. IOVIAM. VOCARI. IVSSE-
RVNT.

* "Ce péage appartenait anciennement à l'empire. L'Empereur Henri, par un acte daté de Gênes, du 16 Février 1312, le céda à Hugues, Baron de Faucigny, qui le transmit à Humbert II. Lorsque Humbert dota le couvent de Montfleur, il lui fit cession du péage de la Tronche. Je raconterai à ce sujet qu'en 1351, les dames de Montfleur traitèrent avec un marchand de fer de Moirans, nommé Martin Roux. Elles déchargèrent lui et ses successeurs de tous droits de péage, à condition qu'on leur donnerait chaque année un livre de poivre et un livre de gingembre."
—*Histoire de Grenoble, par M. Pilot, p. 282.*

The inscription over the Vienne, or Herculean gate, was the same—substituting only *Viennensem Herculeam* for *Romanam Ioviam*. The Porta Romana, which long retained the corrupt appellation of *Porte Trainé*, was pulled down in 1591, when the city was enlarged by the famous Constable Lesdiguières, the hero of Dauphiny. The Porta Viennensis existed as lately as the year 1804, when that also was sacrificed. The road from Rome by the Mont Genevre entered Grenoble at the Porta Romana; that from Vienne, the road by which we have travelled since leaving Moirans, descending Mont Rachais in front of the convent of Sainte Marie-d'en-haut, crossed the Isere somewhere near the present Pont de Bois, and entered the town by the Porta Viennensis. At the close of the fourth century the Emperor Gratian altered the name of Cularo into that of Gratianopolis, and made it the seat of a bishoprick. It would almost seem from the circumstance of the bishoprick being established on the right bank of the Isere, as if the city of Diocletian was looked upon as nothing more than a mere suburb.* But the most important benefits

* “ La paroisse de St. Laurent, comme la plus ancienne de la ville, jouissait anciennement du droit de primauté. Son clergé avant la révolution avait encore le pas sur celui des autres églises.”—*Id.* p. 13.

received by Grenoble were through the hands of the Constable Lesdiguières. This celebrated man first provided for the defence of the city by building the fort of the Bastille, which he connected with the town below by two walls; these, diverging from the fort, descend in a zigzag direction on each side of Mont Rachais to the river—exactly in the style of the walls of a Greek acropolis. An old gateway, now blocked up, admitted the Vienne road; but this entrance was watched by a strong guard placed in the adjoining fort of Rabot.* Near this fort, at the edge of the cliffs, we may still observe where the rocks have been worn smooth by the traffic that was formerly carried on along this road. It would be tedious and unnecessary to attempt an enumeration of the various works of Lesdiguières at Grenoble, and in its neighbourhood. Two of them, however, are of importance to our present inquiry, and ought not to be omitted. Lesdiguières protected Grenoble from an enemy more dangerous than even man. The city had been frequently a victim to the most dreadful inundations. The Isère, which traverses the town, and the impetuous Drac, which anciently rolled close

* Fort Rabot was erected before the time of Lesdiguières, in the year 1532.

under the western ramparts, committed, on several occasions recorded by history in both verse and prose, such tremendous havoc as to give rise to the prophecy of

“Serpens et Draco devorabunt urbem,”

a translation of which, in the patois of the country, is still current—

“Lo Serpein et lo Dragon
Mettron Grenoble en savon.”

The Isere is now confined by handsome quays, and is not more than ninety or one hundred yards in breadth. Time, labour, and art had in vain, before the days of Lesdiguières, attempted to controul the fury of the Drac. It was he who effectually completed this great undertaking, and by carrying the torrent in a new channel, fortified by powerful dams, threw it to such a distance from the town, that it now falls harmless into the Isere, opposite La Buiserade. His other work was opening the road under the cliffs of Mont Rachais. “Il y avait,” says M. Pilot, p. 218, “au pied de ce rocher un passage appelé dans les actes *Malum passetum*, qui appartenait au chapitre de Saint Martin. La grande route traversait encore à cette époque la hauteur de Rabot. Du côté de la Tronche, il n’y avait

qu'un petit chemin qui suivait le cteau jusqu'au lieu appell 'le page.'" It was at this spot, where, as I have before stated, there cannot be even now an interval of more than fifty feet, that Lesdiguieres constructed the Porte de France. We now read the words "Porte de France" in large characters over the gateway. The following inscription, in imitation of that of Diocletian, was washed over in the time of the revolution :—

"Ludovicus XIII. Galliarum et Navarræ rex, pius, felix, invictus, Gratianopoli Monte auctâ, ejusque muris, propugnaculis et interioribus ædificiis providentiâ suâ, et curâ Francisci Bonnæ, ducis Digueriarum, paris et Mareschalli Franciæ, proregis Delphinatûs, institutis atque perfectis, portam hanc regiam vocari jussit MDCXX."

In 1824 the French commenced the construction of immense works at the fort of the Bastille, which are now going on with increased activity ; and which, when completed, will render it nearly impregnable.

From this hasty survey of the progressive alterations and improvements of Grenoble, we are enabled to collect that in the time of Hannibal,

I. Cularo stood on the right bank of the Isere, probably at, or near, La Tronche.

II. That the main road to it from La Buise-erade led along the declivity above the Isere, passed along Mont Rachais near Fort Rabot, descended near the convent of Sainte Marie-d'en-haut, and continued along the declivity on the other side as far as the "Péage de la Tronche."

III. That the united currents of the Isere and the Drac, then unrestrained as they were afterwards by dams and quays, prevented the existence of any safe path, perhaps of even the *Malum passetum*, below Mont Rachais.

IV. That the state of the plain at the confluence of these two furious streams would have frustrated any attempt on the part of the Carthaginians to turn the positions of Mont Rachais by crossing the rivers.

V. Lastly, we find the position of the Bastille considered, both by Lesdiguières and by Marshal Soult, one of the utmost importance, as commanding the passage.

We left Hannibal in possession of this advantageous position; his army at La Buise-erade at one end of the "difficult places;" the Allobroges at the other near La Tronche. It is now time to take up the words of Polybius.

Οὐ συμβάντος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης, οἱ c. 51.
 βάρβαροι συνθεασάμενοι τὸ γεγονός, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς
 ἀπέστησαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς.

“ This being done, and the day having come on, the barbarians, discovering what had happened, refrained at first from an attack.”

The “ adjacent town ” must have been very near the “ advantageous positions,” for the Allobroges to have gone to it and from it without difficulty, as well as to have allowed of their discerning from below any occurrences that took place upon the heights. Such is La Tronche in relation to the Bastille. The elevation of this fort above the Isere may be about 1,200 feet; the ascent to it would be easily accomplished in half an hour. One of the principal objections to the Mont du Chat, or to any other pass in that part of the “ Insula,” is the distance of the town, whether Chambéry, (Lemincum,) or Bourget, from the summit of the pass. The Allobroges could scarcely have got down from their positions in the evening, before it would have been time for them to re-ascend in the morning.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰντα, θεωροῦντες, τὸ τῶν ὑποζυγίων c. 51.
 πλῆθος καὶ τὸνς ἵππους δυσχερῶς ἐκμηρνομένους καὶ
 μακρῶς τὰς δυσχωρίας, ἐξεκλήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν συμβαίνοντος, ἑξέπτεσθαι τῆς πορείας.

“ After this, perceiving the numerous

beasts of burden and the cavalry defiling through the difficult places arduously and protractedly, they were encouraged by the opportunity to attack the line of march."

When the Carthaginian army broke up from the encampment at La Buiserade, they would first have to wind "with toilsome march their long array" along the shaggy steep of the side of St. Martin-le-Vinoux, and then to pass across the heights by Fort Rabot. They would first have appeared to the Allobroges in a descent towards La Tronche. The sight of a weak extended line of baggage-mules, and horses, struggling along a narrow path, with a precipice of 150 or 200 feet on their right, offered too tempting an opportunity to be resisted by the Allobroges. They might have been farther encouraged by perceiving that if Hannibal rushed down from the heights to attack them, he could not avoid falling upon his own people, and urging them also towards the precipices; and we shall soon find that this consideration withheld for awhile the Carthaginian general from hastening to the assistance of his men.

c. 51.

Τούτου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ κατὰ πλείω μέρη προσπεσόντων τῶν βαρβάρων, οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὥς ὑπὸ τῶν τόπων, πολὺς ἐγένετο φόρος τῶν Καρχηδονίων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων

ὄυσης γὰρ οὐ μόνον στενῆς καὶ τραχείας τῆς προσβολῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κρημνώδους, ἀπὸ παντὸς κινήματος καὶ πάσης ταραχῆς ἐφέρετο κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὁμόσει τοῖς φορτίοις, πολλὰ τῶν υποζυγίων.

“ This being done, (the attack upon the march,) and the barbarians having charged in many places, a great destruction of the Carthaginians, particularly of horses and beasts of burden, took place ; not so much on account of the enemy, as from the nature of the ground, for the road was not only narrow and rough, but also precipitous, so that upon every agitation and each disturbance, many of the beasts of burden, together with their loads, were carried down the precipices.”

If, by the words κατὰ πλείω μέρη, we are to understand that the attack was made in many places at the same time, it becomes apparent that the Allobroges must have extended themselves along the left of the Carthaginians ; that is, between the Carthaginians and Hannibal ; and by charging them in many places, they would force them all towards the precipice. In the account of this pass we find the words τὰ στενὰ—δυσχωρίαί—στενῆς—τραχείας—κρημνώδους, &c., all perfectly descriptive of the country between La Buiserade and La Tronche. Nothing implies the difficulties attendant on any arduous ascent and

descent. Now in the Mont du Chat they would have had to encounter as severe a mountain for its elevation as any to be met with in the high Alps. Polybius tells us that the wounded horses upon this occasion added greatly to the confusion.

c. 51. Εἰς ἃ βλέπων Ἀννίβας, καὶ συλλογιζόμενος, ὥς οὐδὲ τοῖς διαφυγόνσι τὸν κίνδυνόν ἐστι σωτηρία, τῶν σκευοφορικῶν διαφθαρέντος, ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς προκατασχόντας τὴν νύκτα τὰς ὑπερβολὰς, ὤρμησε παραβοηθήσων τοῖς τῇ πορείᾳ προσβάλλουσιν.

“Hannibal observing this, and reflecting that even for those who escaped the danger there would be no safety should the ‘materiel’ perish, taking the men who during the night had seized upon the heights, rushed to the assistance of those who were prosecuting the march.”

From the heights of the Bastille, Hannibal must have been an eye-witness of every thing that passed; but although well placed to prevent the enemy from gaining a commanding position, he was of no use to his own men at the height of at least a thousand feet above them. It was necessary, therefore, for him to charge down the hill.

c. 51. Οὐ γενομένου, πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέλυντο, διὰ τὸ ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τὸν Ἀννίβαν, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων· ὁ γὰρ κατὰ

τὴν πορείαν θόρυβος ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ᾗζετο διὰ τὴν τῶν προειρημένων κραυγὴν καὶ συμπλοκὴν.

“ Which being done, many of the enemy indeed perished, owing to Hannibal’s making the onset from the high ground, but not fewer of his own men also—for the tumult along the march was increased on both sides by the shouts and shock of the above-mentioned troops.”

Two parties scuffling on the brink of a precipice are both likely to be equally sufferers from the impulse of a third party, with whatever friendly intention it might be meant towards one only. The whole of this scene is in perfect keeping with the nature of the ground upon Mont Rachais.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν πλείστους τῶν Ἀλλαβρίγων .. 51.
ἀπέκτανε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τρεφόμενος ἠναγκασε
φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν· τότε δὴ τὸ μὲν ἔτι περιλα-
πόμενον πλῆθος τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἵππων μόλις
καὶ ταλαιπύρως διήνυε τὰς δυσχωρίας. Ἀυτὸς δὲ
συνεθρόσεας ὅσους ᾔδυνετο πλείστους ἐκ τῶν κινδύνου,
προσέβαλε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ ἧς ἐποιήσαντο τὴν
ὀρμὴν οἰπολεμίοι.

“ But when he had killed the greater part of the Allobroges, and, routing the rest, compelled them to fly into their own country, then, indeed, the remainder of the beasts of burden and horses, painfully and laboriously

got through the difficult places ; but the general himself, getting together as many men as he could after the battle, pushed forward towards the town from which the enemy had made their sally."

c. 51. Καταλαβὼν δὲ σχεδὸν ἔρημον, διὰ τὸ πάντας ἐκκληθῆναι πρὸς τὰς ὠφελείας ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο τῆς πόλεως. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ συνέβη τῶν χρησίων αὐτῷ, πρὸς τε τὸ παρὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. παραυτίκα μὲν γὰρ ἐκομίσατο πλῆθος ἵππων καὶ ὑποζυγίων, καὶ τῶν ἅμα τούτοις ἐαλωκότων ἀνδρῶν· εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἔσχε μὲν καὶ σίτου καὶ θρεμμάτων ἐπὶ δυοῖν καὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις εὐπορίαν· τὸ δὲ συνέχον, φόβον ἐργάσατο τοῖς ἔξῃς, πρὸς τὸ μὴ τολμᾶν αὐτῷ ῥαδίως ἐγχειρῆν μηδένα τῶν παρακειμένων ταῖς ἀναβολαῖς.

" Having found it nearly empty, owing to every man having been ordered forth for succour, he made himself master of the town ; and from this circumstance many useful things fell into his hands, both for the present and the future, for he immediately recovered a number of horses and beasts of burden, and of men who had been captured together with them ; and, for future use, he obtained an abundance of corn and cattle for two or three days' consumption ; above all, he struck such terror into the natives thenceforward, that none of those who dwelt about the ascent

of the mountains were bold enough to meddle with him."

Such is the description of the capture of the Allobrogian town by Hannibal ; and from such a description, comparing it with the localities of Grenoble, we at once recognize the features of the scene of action. It is from description alone that we must draw our conclusions ; for it was not the practice of Polybius to bewilder his readers with barbarous names, since grown familiar to us, but then as unmeaning to the ears of his Greek contemporaries as the native appellations from the interior of Africa or Australia now sound to ours. It is strange that the memory of the transaction should have faded away from Cularo so early as the time of Livy—still stranger is it, that subsequent writers should in their investigations have overlooked the extraordinary manner in which Polybius's account coincides with the topography of Grenoble ; which town must have been known to lie directly in the road from the " Insula " to Italy, whether Hannibal passed by the Graian or the Cottian Alp.

The art of war in some respects remains immutably the same in all ages : whatever may be the improvements invented by man for the destruction of his species ; and it is curious to find Lesdiguières, eighteen cen-

Pilot. p.
204.

turies after Hannibal, setting about the capture of Grenoble in a manner so similar to the plan adopted by the Carthaginian general, that it would be unpardonable to pass it by unnoticed. Grenoble, at the time when this occurred, 1589, was occupied by the partisans of the League. Lesdiguieres, who was then opposed to that faction, availing himself of some meeting of Royalists at Voiron, near Moirans, "S'y rendit avec douze cents hommes, sous prétexte d'y maintenir le bon ordre—son dessein était de tenter ensuite un entreprise sur Grenoble. La nuit du 24 au 25 Novembre s'étant avancé jusqu' à la Buiserade, il envoya le capitaine Bar du Côté de St. Martin, et lui-même le suivit de près. Les troupes ne rencontrèrent point d'obstacles, seulement en approchant de la tour de Rabot, elles furent saisies d'une terreur panique, cependant elles reprirent courage, et arrivèrent sans être aperçues au pied de la maison où les attendait l'ami du geolier," (the Concierge des prisons, who had been bribed,) "elles descendirent dans la rue St. Laurent par le moyen d'échelles," &c.

We here find Lesdiguieres advancing from the vicinity of Moirans to La Buiserade; then halting, and during the night, unknown to the enemy, passing along the Côte de St. Martin, and ascending Mont Rachais, near Fort Rabot.

All this is perfectly similar to the proceedings of Hannibal ; but when upon Mont Rachais, the Carthaginians had to turn up the heights on the left, while the French general descended the cliffs on the right by the help of ladders, and was admitted into the town by a traitor. The details of this enterprise of Lesdiguières might possibly add something to the resemblance : they might be found, perhaps, in the history of his life by his secretary Vidal ; but in default of any extract from that book, which is not easily attainable, the account of the old author, Mezerai, may not be uninteresting.

“ Le dessein reconnu, a fin de le mieux couvrir, et de pouvoir s'approcher de Grenoble sans donner de la deffiance, il convoque les Estats de la province à Voyron, et au mesme temps fait venir douze cens hommes à Moyranc. Comme toutes choses sont prestes pour l'exécution, il s'avance le soir au fort de Cornillon, saisit tous les passages pour empêcher Grenoble d'en avoir le veut, ordonne à sa cavalerie de mettre pied à terre, et à ses troupes de filer doucement par dessus le costau. Enfin, il conduit si bien l'entreprises que ces gens ayant passé sans estre apperceus par le corps-de-garde de la tour de Rabot, qui est sur le costau, plantent six echelles par la maison designée, descendent dans la rue,” &c.

Polybius gives us no regular account of the days between the departure of the Carthaginian army from the position of its six days' halt among the friendly tribe of Gauls, πρὸς τὴν Νῆσον, "in front of the island," and the capture of the town of the Allobroges; but it may be fairly presumed that this interval occupied about eight days; and an arrangement in the following manner appears perfectly consistent with the distance between Valence and Grenoble :—

<i>Days.</i>	<i>Time.</i>
<i>M. P.</i>	
1. The army moves from Valence to the Péage de Pizançon	} 11
2. Passage of the Isere.—The "Insula" is entered .	
3. Advance to St. Marcellin	15
4. Advance to Morginum (Moirans.) Here the Segalauni take leave of the Carthaginians, and return to Valence*	15
5 and 6. Hannibal halts at Moirans, while his Gaulish guides are sent forward to reconnoitre the position and designs of the Allobroges	} 14
7. Advance to La Buiserade—during the night Hannibal seizes the heights of the Bastille	
8. Fight with the Allobroges and capture of their town—Cularo—La Tronche, near Grenoble	

* It is possible that the Segalauni, to avoid any hostile rencontre with the Allobroges during their march home—

We are now to enter upon a portion of the march in which the days, with their events, are very distinctly enumerated. They will be found to amount to eighteen, from the capture of the town of the Allobroges to the arrival of the Carthaginians on the plains of the Po. Out of the eighteen, fifteen are especially assigned by Polybius to the passage of the Alps themselves. We are still, therefore, three days distant from the ἀναβολή τῶν Ἀλπεων, "the first ascent of the Alps;" and out of these three days, the first was allotted to a halt and repose in the captured town.

Τότε μὲν δυν αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν παρεμβολήν, Polyb.
iii. c. 52.
καὶ μίαν ἐπιμείνας ἡμέραν, αὐδὶς ὤρμα.

"Then, indeed, having there made his camp, and remained one day, he again set forth."

While the Carthaginians halt at Cularo, it may be worth while to take into consideration the situation of Grenoble.* The view

wards, might have got across the Isere near Moirans; and being unencumbered with baggage, elephants, and horses, they might have made their way to Valence along the left bank of the Isere, under the Sassenage mountains.

* Grenoble and its environs present many interesting and delightful objects to the traveller. The town contains a fine library of 55,000 volumes, and a good museum of natural history. The neighbourhood abounds in picturesque and

from the heights of the Bastille is singularly magnificent. My companion, Mr. Maude, who had visited every part of Switzerland, declared it unrivalled by any thing he had seen in that country. Three valleys converge at this point; for the Isere, by changing its course from a south-easterly to a north-westerly direction, may be said to form two, while the Drac, coming from the south, opens a third in front of us, remarkable for the curious appearance of the insulated eminences, the relics of mountains washed away, that rise from its plain. The Sassenage heights on the west, in undiminished grandeur, occupy every thing between the Isere and the left bank of the Drac; while on the south-east a long snowy sierra of *Alps*, forming the southern side of the valley above Grenoble, extends from the right bank of the Drac until it

luxuriant landscapes, and in various objects of curiosity, such as plants, minerals, birds, and animals of all sorts, found in the Alps. The monastery of the Grande Chartreuse and the Caves, or "Cuves," of Sassenage, are extremely well worth visiting. The latter, which are reckoned as one of the "seven sights of Dauphiny," are really curious. The other six deserve the reproach of the epigram—

"Merveilles du pays, dont on dit tant de bien
Soit dans les vers, soit dans la prose;
Vous etes un peu plus que rien,
Mais, à dire vrai, vous n'etes pas grande chose!"

seems to unite with the glaciers of the Mont Blanc, which, at the distance of thirty leagues, fills up the head of the valley with its solitary form.

The view of the *Alpine* range on the south side of the vale of Gresivaudan is particularly interesting, because it completely explains what at first is not very apparent; namely, why Polybius does not place the ἀναβολή τῶν Ἀλπεων, "the entrance," or "first ascent of the Alps," at Voreppe. At Voreppe, we plunge among the mountains, and enter the narrow valley of the Isere, which will conduct us to almost the very summit of the Alps. We may seek in vain for a guide to the ἀναβολή, "first ascent," among the various authors who have written on the march of Hannibal, for no two works are agreed upon the subject. The difficulty in determining this place appears to arise from there being no precise spot on this side the Alps, which, from the self-evidence of its position, can be immediately recognized as the commencement, "the first ascent," of those mountains. The whole country, from almost the very banks of the Rhine, is mountainous, and seems far and wide little else than the roots of the Alps. Even the Jura itself, connected as it is with the mountains of the

Grande Chartreuse, can without impropriety be designated as a portion of

“ The tract
Of horrid mountains, which the shining Alps
Branch out stupendous into distant lands :”

and amid this chaos of hills, the precise moment at which we may be said to commence the ascent of the Alps is not immediately distinguishable.

The Alps—which are supposed to derive their name from the Celtic “ Alp,” or Rhetic “ Alv,” signifying “ Albus,” “ *white*,”—are, properly speaking, the *snowy range itself*, independent of its various ramifications. This range we clearly discern from the Bastille, stretching along on the right of us, as we ascend the valley of the Isere from Grenoble. The mass of the Grande Chartreuse, on the left, is totally detached and distinct from the real *Alps*. We travel up the vale of Gresivaudan along the base of the snowy mountains ; but as yet have not turned in among them, and commenced their ascent. We know also from Polybius, that at Grenoble (if Grenoble was the town captured by Hannibal) we are still two days’ march from the ἀναβολή ; and, when we have advanced that dis-

tance, we are to expect to meet the "first ascent" of the Alps.

After one day's halt at the conquered town, αὐθις ὥρμα, says the historian, he again set forth—

ταῖς δ' ἑξῆς, μέχρι μὲν τινος, ἀσφαλῶς διῆγε τὴν c. 52. στρατιάν.

"And for some days successively, up to a certain point, he led the army in safety."

Two roads, one on each side of the Isere, lead from Grenoble up the vale of Gresivaudan. We may reasonably conclude that Hannibal continued along the right bank, for on that side stood the ancient Cularo; no mention is made of his having crossed the river. The road on that side is now, and probably always was, the one most usually travelled; the posts are mounted along it; and this side of the valley, enjoying a southern exposure under the vertical abutments of the Grande Chartreuse mountains, is richer and drier than the opposite, where there are more trees, streams, and meadows—now, indeed, under the management and control of art and labour, but in earlier ages not unlikely to have been forests, torrents, and marshes. We roll along the post-road through this glorious vale, and meet no obstacle in the shape of hills until we arrive at the village of La Buissiere, lying at

the foot of the heights of Fort Barraux—a very remarkable geographical position, accompanied by such changes in the state and aspect of the country, as to require particular attention. We are now almost at the end of the vale of Gresivaudan. Here we encounter “the first ascent;” and a little farther, at Mont Meillan is a valley leading through the *snowy range*, the *real Alps* themselves. The Isere hereabouts ceases to be navigable. Even man seems to have acknowledged a line of demarcation drawn by nature, for here are the marches of France and Savoy. The numerous old fortresses assembled here, once frowning defiance at each other from all quarters, are not unworthy of remark. Saint Joire and Mont Meillan are now a heap of ruins. Les Marches, rising finely in a bold position, is become a private residence. Bellecombe, once the “*clavis et custodia regni Delphini*,” is dismantled. Fort Barraux alone, won by Lesdiguières for Henri IV., is still kept up and garrisoned. On the other side of the Isere, at Pontcharra, we see the remains of Avalon, a hunting seat of the old Dauphins, the birthplace of Hugh de Wells, Bishop of Lincoln, the chancellor of King John of England. Above all, Grignan, the patrimonial residence of the “Chevalier sans



peur et sans reproche," deserves a visit for the sake of the fine prospect it commands, if not for the sake of its hero. Fortune, by casting the nativity of Bayard here, upon the very frontiers of France, seemed to have destined him from his cradle for the post of honour. His memory is worshipped throughout Dauphiny; but the respect it commands has not been sufficient to preserve his castle from the universal destruction of the Revolution. The room, however, in which he is said to have been born still exists, and the pencilling on the walls shows it to be a place of pilgrimage. Among the memoranda there, a few lines traced by the hand of the unfortunate Amédée de Bourmont, who soon after fell at Algiers, are not without interest. From the terrace of the old courtyard of Grignan, we have a splendid prospect, beginning at the lower extremity of the vale of Gresivaudan near Grenoble, sweeping across the cliffs of the Isere to Fort Barraux, and thence along the valley towards Chambéry.

It is singular, that in some of the best maps there is laid down a road, apparently of some magnitude, from La Buissière to Mont Meillan, passing, it would seem, under Fort Barraux close along the bank of the Isere. No such road, or at least nothing more than the

merest lane, exists in that direction ; still less likely is it that one was there in former ages, before the low country was cleared and drained as much as it now is. The Isere runs immediately under the heights of Fort Barraux, which it forms into cliffs, compelling the road to ascend at once the hills near the Fort, and to approach Mont Meillan by way of Chapereillan. This is the "first ascent" we have encountered ; and associated with the changes in the country above mentioned, and its distance, which begins to be about two days' march from Grenoble, it is sufficient to induce us to conjecture that we must be at or near the ἀναβολή. To ascertain this, it is necessary to have recourse to the distances given by Polybius. If La Buissiere is the ἀναβολή, it ought to be

I. First, 1400 stadia, 175 M. P. from Tarascon.

II. Secondly, nearly 1200 stadia, 150 M. P. from the plains of the Po.

Tried by these tests, and not found wanting, La Buissiere may be reasonably set down as the spot sought for.

I. 1400 stadia, or 175 Roman miles, from Tarascon. Out of this distance, one hundred miles have been already exhausted between Tarascon and Valence : the distance therefore

between Valence and La Buissiere ought to be 75 miles. Two modes of computing distances prevail in this country: one by the posts, as established by government; the other, more common, by "lieues du pays."—We will try them both.

First, there are between Valence and Chapereillan $16\frac{1}{2}$ postes, which at the common rate of 5 M. P. to the poste, will give $82\frac{1}{2}$ M. P. But Chapereillan is $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles beyond La Buissiere; deducting that distance, we have 78 M. P. left, and may safely refer the superabundant three miles to the practice of overrating the post distances.

Secondly, there are between Valence and Fort Barraux 21 "lieues du pays." These "lieues" are rather vague; sometimes they are "fortes," sometimes "petites." I made constant inquiries as to what a "lieue du pays" was, and received three explanations—that it was "plus forte qu'une lieue de poste;" that it was "à peu près trois milles d'Italiè;" and that it was as much as a man could walk in an hour. A messenger on foot, despatched by some gentlemen at Crest (Drome) with a commission to Grenoble, told me he had performed the distance between Romans and St. Marcellin, four lieues du pays, easily in four hours. Having walked by the side of this

man for some time, I am certain his ordinary pace did not exceed $3\frac{1}{2}$ English miles per hour. From this, and other observations in accomplishing the distances, $3\frac{1}{2}$ English miles may be taken as a fair average for a lieue du pays. At this rate, the 21 lieues du pays between Valence and Fort Barraux, would give $73\frac{1}{2}$ English miles; deducting the mile between La Buisserie and Fort Barraux, and adding 5 miles, the necessary augmentation to convert them into Roman miles, we have $77\frac{1}{2}$ M. P., which differs, but not very materially, from the Polybian distance.

II. Whatever uncertainty we may experience as to the ἀναβολή τῶν Ἀλπεων on the Gallic side of the Graian Alp, we labour under none as to the commencement of the plains on the Italian side of the mountains. The rock of Donas, very near the village of St. Martin, at which the ingenious authors of the Dissertation fix the commencement of the plains, is one of the most remarkable places in the whole march. At Donas, the valley of the Doria Baltea contracts so much, that the river originally must have had to force a passage for itself. Ancient and modern potentates have contributed their efforts to form and enlarge a road for man. We have an opportunity of comparing the works of Au-

gustus with those of the Duke of Savoy. The rock has been cut away by the Romans, who have shaped a portion of it into a milliarium in the form of a pilaster, and into an arch extending across the road. The Roman work is finished off with the chisel, and left upright and smooth as a wall ; but the modern system of blasting with gunpowder gives a shaggy and unfinished aspect to the more recent improvements. Emerging from this remarkable pass, we seem at once extricated from the Alps, and enter upon the plains of Italy. The town of Ivrea, anciently Eporedia, stands in the plains ; but being at no great distance from Donas, and a place noticed as a station in the Itineraries, it may suit our purpose to commence from it a calculation of the distance towards the ascent of the heights of Fort Barraux at La Buissiere.

	M. P.
From Eporedia (Ivrea) to Vitricium (Verres)	21
Augusta prætoria (Aosta)	25
Arebrigium (Pré St. Didier)	25
Artolica (La Tuille)	6
Alpis Graia (Little St. Bernard)	6
	— 83
Bergintrum (St. Maurice)	11
Axima (Ayme)	9
Darantasia (Salins)	10
Ad Publicanos (L'Hôpital)	16
Mantala (— ?)	16
	— 62
	— 145

We have here a distance of 145 M. P. between Ivrea and Mantala, which is supposed to have been at or near St. Pierre d'Albigny : from these 145 M. P. we must deduct the distance between Ivrea and Donas, and add that between Mantala and La Buissiere, which is somewhat greater, thus making 146 or 147 M. P. from La Buissiere to the plains of Italy.

The difference between these measurements and the Polybian distances is, an *excess* between Tarascon and La Buissiere, and a *defalcation* between La Buissiere and Donas. Such a result we may be justified in expecting, from the expressions of Polybius. Of the first distance he speaks positively—*χιλίων τετρακόσιοι*—1,400 stadia, or 175 miles, meaning the *full* distance ; but of the next he says, *ΠΕΡΙ χιλίων διακοσίων*—*nearly* 1,200 stadia, 150 M. P. ; and in this we need not expect the whole distance. Thus, then, the measurements are completed sufficiently within the letter of the law of Polybius.

	M. P.
From Tarascon to La Buissiere, under Fort Barraux	175 <i>full</i> .
From La Buissiere to Donas	150 <i>nearly</i> .

With these distances thus determined, and with the undeviating concurrence we have

hitherto found between the description of the country in Polybius and its actual state at present, we gain confidence as we advance, and feel a conviction that we are clearly following the traces of the Carthaginian army. But at Fort Barraux I take leave of Hannibal, satisfied if, by accompanying him so far, the least assistance towards an explanation of his wonderful expedition has been in any way afforded. His road now enters the Alps themselves : the fine valley of the Tarentaise, opening at Mont Meillan, lies close before him, directly leading to the foot of the Graian Alp. The remainder of the march has been so amply illustrated by the Oxford authors, that no one can read their work and wish for any thing more, than to visit in person the curious scenes it describes.

It may be worth while, however, to subjoin a scheme of the journal of Polybius, dating from the capture of Cularo, arranged according to days and distances, in the best shape it appears to me capable of assuming. The time and distances are absolute, and sufficiently satisfactory ; the places assigned as the probable termination of each day's march are of course often conjectural.

March of Hannibal from Grenoble to the plains of the Po at Donas, arranged in days according to the text of Polybius.

Time.

Day.

Distance.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. μὲν ἐπιμείνας ἡμέραν, "halting for one day" at Grenoble. 2. ἀνθις ὥρμα, "he set forth again." Advances to Lumbin, where the post, dividing the distance, is now established. 3. Advance to Chapereillan. | } | <p>Cularo
(Grenoble)
to La Buis-
siere,

M. P.
22</p> |
|---|---|---|

(The ascent of the Alps is begun.)

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. For some time he led his army in safety, but
ἤδη δὲ τεταρτάιος ὢν, ἀνθις εἰς κινδύνους παρεγένετο μεγάλους.
"But now on the <i>fourth</i> day, he again approached great dangers." οἱ γὰρ περὶ τὴν δίοδον οἰκοῦντες. "For the people who dwelt round about the pass"—the Centrones—plotting treachery, came out to meet him under the semblance of friendship.
Halt at Freterive. 5. Advance ad Publicanos—to L'Hôpital—a short day's march. Halt and parley with the Centrones. The territories of the Allobroges and Centrones were divided at Conflans, or L'Hôpital, by the river Arly.
πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἠυλαβεῖτο. "He hesitated a long while." | } | <p>La Buis-
siere ad
Publicanos
to L'Hôpi-
tal,

32</p> |
|--|---|---|

Day.	Distance. M. P.
Brought forward	32
6. After reflecting that he could gain nothing by delay, he accepted hostages, and continued the march in company with some of the Centrones as guides. Advance to Bergintrum, St. Maurice	13
7. προπορευομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέραις. "Having proceeded for <i>two</i> days," on this, the <i>second</i> day, they reach Axima, Ayme.	13
8. συναθροισθέντες οἱ προειρημένοι, καὶ συνακολουθήσαντες, ἐπιτίθενται, φάραγγα τινα δύσβατον καὶ κρημνώδη περαιουμένων αὐτῶν. "The above-mentioned people, collecting together, and pursuing, (the Carthaginians,) set upon them, as they were going through a certain difficult and precipitous ravine." ⁽¹⁾ Here they narrowly escaped total destruction. A battle ensued: Hannibal, with half his forces, was obliged to scale the rocks, and keep guard, while the rest of the troops and the baggage, marching all night, passed the defile. ἕως ἐν ὄλῃ τῇ νυκτὶ τὰντα μόλις ἐξεμῆρσα το τῆς χαραδρας. "While that part of the army, during the whole night, with difficulty got through the ravine."	c. 52.
9. τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον....προῆγε πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τὰς ἀνωτάτω τῶν Ἀλπεων.....Ἐννατάως δὲ διανύσας εἰς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς. "The <i>next</i> day he reached the very highest part of the passage of the Alps—having gained the summit (of the Little St. Bernard) on the <i>ninth</i> day.	c. 53.

	Day.	Distance. M. P.
	Brought forward	78
c. 53.	10 & 11. ἀντὺν κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ δύο ἡμέρας προσεμεινε. “He there encamped, and remained for <i>two</i> days.” ^(*) * There was already a good deal of snow upon the higher parts, διὰ τὸ συνάπτειν τὴν τῆς Πλειάδος δύσιν—“as it was about the time of the setting of the Pleiades.” ⁽²⁾	
c. 54.	12. τῇ δὲ παύριον ἀναζεύξας, ἐνήρχετο τῆς καταβάσεως. “The <i>next day</i> , breaking up the en- campment, he commenced the descent.” Proceed to Artolica, (la Tuille,) where an impediment in the road prevented any further advance ⁽⁴⁾	6
c. 55.	ἐστρατοπέδευσε περὶ τὴν ῥάχιν. “He encamped near the precipice.” 13. Repairs of the road carried on actively— enough was effected in one day to admit of a part of the army descending to Are- brigium (Pré St. Didier.)	
c. 55.	τοῖς μὲν ὅν ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἱκανὴν ἐποίησε. “In <i>one</i> day he made a passage suffi- cient for the beasts of burden and the horses.” 14. Repairs of the road continue. 15. Repairs of the road completed—the ele- phants descend to Arebrigium (Pré St. Didier)	6

Day.	Distance. M. P.
Brought forward	90
μόλις ἐν ἡμέραις τρισὶ κακοπαθήσας, διήγαγε τὰ θηρία. “With difficulty in <i>three</i> days, having suffered a good deal, he got the elephants through.”*	c. 55.
16. Ἀντίβας δὲ, συναθροίσας ὁμῶν πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν, κατέβαινε. “But Hannibal, having got all his forces together, continued the descent”—from Arebrigium, (Pré St. Didier.)	c. 56.
17. March continued.	
18. τριτῆος ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων κρημνῶν διανύσας, ἤψατο τῶν ἐπιπέδων. “On the <i>third</i> day after the above-mentioned precipices, (at La Tuille,) having completed the passage, he touched the plains.” Having accomplished τὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερβολὴν ἡμέραις πεντε καὶ δεκα, main pass of the Alps in <i>fifteen</i> days.	c. 56. 57 c. 56.

And now κατῆρε τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν c. 56.
Πάδον πεδία, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰσόμβρων ἔθνος.

“He descended fearlessly into the plains about the Po, and the nation of the Insu-
brians.”

With these words Polybius closes the account of the march: and the mention of the

* See Note, page 112.

Insubrian Gauls is justly advanced as one of the strongest proofs that Hannibal crossed the Graian Alp, and descended the valley of the Salassi, for that valley debouches into the plains of the Po in the identical country occupied formerly by that people; whereas, the valleys of the Cottian Alp—those of Perosa and Susa—descend upon the country of the Taurini. Some fresh evidence may be gleaned from the other words, τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία, so frequently mentioned as the part of Italy in which the Carthaginians were first to arrive.

Polybius, in describing the course of the Po, says it turns towards the east, when it reaches the plains—ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς τοὺς ἐπιπέδους τόπους, ἐκκλίνας τῷ ῥέυματι πρὸς ἑω, φέρεται δὲ αὐτῶν —“reaching the plains, it flows through them, inclining with its stream towards the east.” If by these words we are to understand that the river has not arrived at the plains, until it takes an easterly direction, it is clear that the plains, in Polybius's estimation, are not anywhere at the foot of the Cottian Alp, but that they are near the foot of the Graian Alp, because a little before receiving the Dora Baltea, which flows from that Alp, the Po begins to turn *to the eastward*. The Po, according to Polybius, rises at

ii. c. 16.

the apex of the triangle,* to which he likens the shape of Northern Italy—that is, it rises at the junction of the Alps and the Apennines. “Thence,” he says, “it flows down towards the plains, taking its course as if *towards the south*.” These words are astounding—because most certainly the Po “rolls its infant stream” *towards the north*. Surely, instead of ὡς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν, we ought to read, ὡς ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας; although even this alteration would not convey a perfectly satisfactory meaning.

The complete development of the route of Hannibal, a geographical problem of 2,000 years standing, was for ages considered hopeless. The component parts of the puzzle, time, space, roads, rivers, and mountains, seemed jumbled together in inexplicable confusion. In our Latin guide, the narrative was at variance with its authorities and with itself. In our Greek guide,

“Pure description held the place of *names*.”

But within these few years a line of march

* The apex of this figure is in the neighbourhood of the Col d'Argentiere. Pliny, and all subsequent geographers, have assigned the birth of the Po to Monte Viso, selecting the highest mountain for that purpose. Polybius, by following the stream which has the longest course, the Maira, is perhaps the most correct.

has been pointed out, supported by sound reasoning, and in perfect accordance with the tale as told by its faithful and almost contemporary historian. If, in adding any new matter, such as the place of the passage of the Rhone at Tarascon*—the propriety of measuring “the 800 stadia along the river,” *previous* to the passage of the Isere—the march of the army by way of Cularo, and the capture of that town—and, lastly, if by thus obtaining a closer approximation to the Polybian distances, and a complete correspondence with time throughout the march, this treatise may be considered as having at all assisted in unravelling the mystery, the object of its author is accomplished.

* The author has evidently not seen the little work alluded to in the note page 21.—ED.

BATTLE OF THE TICINUS.

I SHALL avail myself of the precedent afforded by M. Deluc's example, in appending to the March of Hannibal a few observations upon the site of the Battle of the Ticinus.

The descent of the Carthaginians into Italy, and the capture of Turin, τὴν βαρυτάτην πόλιν, c. 60. "an exceedingly strong town," after three days' siege, were followed by the rencontre with Scipio in the engagement which bears the name of the Battle of the Ticinus; and which, no doubt, was fought at no great distance from that river. With regard to the precise scene of action, almost as much contention exists respecting it, as about the passage of the Alps themselves; and yet the account we have in Polybius scarcely justifies such perplexity.

The hostile forces are represented as advancing both along the Po; Hannibal from the neighbourhood of Turin, and Scipio from

that of Cremona,* both eager for the fight. The Roman, upon reaching the Ticinus, constructed a bridge and carried his army across. The battle took place after both parties had advanced a little farther.

c. 65. *προηγὸν ἀμφοτέροι παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεὺς μέρους, ἔχοντες ἐώνυμον μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, δεξιὸν δὲ τὸν ῥῶν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι.*

* We have no information as to where Scipio crossed the Po. Livy makes him land at Genoa, when he hastened back from the mouth of the Rhone upon discovering that Hannibal was in full march towards the Graian Alp. In this case, he would have crossed the Po at Placentia. But Polybius, our best authority, expressly informs us more than once that he landed at Pisa, and passed from thence "through Tyrrhenia," or "through Italy." In this case, which was for the purpose of taking up the troops stationed at Ariminum (Rimini) or Modena, engaged in watching the Boii, he would have gone from Pisa to Arezzo, and thence across the Apennines to Rimini, through the Salpinian tribe, by a road near the sources of the Tyber and the Arno, not unfrequently used by the Romans. He would then have to cross the Po between Modena and Cremona; for the country between Modena and Placentia was at that time considered impracticable on account of its marshes—the marshes through which Hannibal carried his army the ensuing spring, according to Dr. Cramer, who has most satisfactorily elucidated this point in his work upon the geography of ancient Italy—an invaluable book to the Italian traveller. But whether Scipio crossed the Po at Cremona or Placentia is of little moment; in either case, he would have been advancing straight upon the Ticinus, in the neighbourhood of Pavia.

Tit. Liv.
xxxi. 2.
21. &c.

“ They both advanced along the river, upon the parts towards the Alps, the Romans having the stream on their left, the Carthaginians with it on their right.”

The difficulty arises from these words being usually applied to the Ticinus; which certainly, although at a considerable interval, had been the last river mentioned. We are confused with the side of a river described as “towards the Alps,” while the river itself, in a course at a right angle from the Alps, presents neither side towards those mountains; and we are surprised at discovering Scipio and Hannibal, who had been approaching one from the east and the other from the west, along the Po, now suddenly in situations north and south of each other upon the Ticinus. But if we might understand *παρὰ τὸν Ποταμόν*, as applied to the nobler river,—to the Po*—of which frequent mention had been made already, whereas the Ticinus is only alluded to in connexion with its bridge, which by being broken down, afterwards stopped Hannibal in his pursuit of Scipio, then the mists disappear, the prospect brightens.

* Just as the Rhone is called *ποταμὸν* (III. c. 50.) although the Isere had been the river last named.

Adspice ! namque omnem, quæ nunc obducta tuenti
 Mortales hebetat visus tibi, et humida circum
 Caligat, nubem ereptam.

We now clearly discover the armies along the *Po* "on the side towards the Alps." The Romans, of course, with the stream on their left—the Carthaginians with it to their right—along the most direct road by which, in their mutual eagerness to engage, they would naturally have sought a meeting.

The above explanation seems satisfactory ; but in addition it may be observed, that Polybius, on the only occasion where he refers to this action, does not call it the "Battle of the Ticinus," but the "Battle near the *Po*."

Polyb.
 Reliq. x.

τὴν περὶ τὸν ΠΑΔΟΝ καλούμενον ποταμὸν ἵππο-
 μάχιν.

Such at least were the conclusions which followed a hasty examination of this country in 1820. Should the political state of Italy (which seems at present almost disposed to threaten the traveller with an opportunity of witnessing some modern warfare, rather than allowing him peaceably to investigate the topography of ancient battles,) admit of any future examination of the country, it is possible that a more attentive inspection may lead to some better remarks.

N O T E S.

Note 1, page 99.

The valley between Ayme and the foot of the Little St. Bernard becomes confined and rugged ; and corresponds completely with the pass described by Polybius, where Hannibal was set upon by the mountaineers, and so narrowly escaped total destruction. Here, too, is the famous λευκόπετρον, upon which so much has been built. The genius of the Greek language does not require that *περὶ τὴν λευκόπετρον* should be translated absolutely "upon a *white* rock." It might equally signify "silice in nuda,"—"upon a bare rock,"—without the necessity of its being "*white*." But to find a white gypsum rock, really called the "*roche blanche*," at or near the very spot where Polybius speaks of a λευκόπετρον, is too tempting a coincidence to be resigned without a struggle ; and even to throw a doubt upon it might appear inhuman. It must be acknowledged also, that *περὶ τὴν λευκόπετρον ὄχνηρόν* does seem really to allude to *some one particular* "commanding bare rock." In order to protect effectually the passage of the army, Hannibal must have either occupied the rocks on both sides of the defile, or taken possession of some one rock which alone commanded the pass, and from which the enemy might have particularly harassed him. Now, to have occupied the "*roche blanche*" by itself, would seem to have been scarcely sufficient, because each side of the valley there

presents an equal facility of attack. But there is a rock about half-way between Ayme and St. Maurice, a very remarkable one, descending perpendicularly into the road from the north side of the valley, from which a very small body of men might interrupt the march of a whole army.

Note 2, page 100.

* The picturesque circumstance of Hannibal standing upon the summit of the Alps, and animating the drooping spirits of the Carthaginians by showing them the plains of Italy, has long been dwelt upon as the most remarkable feature in the whole story, and a triumphant argument against the Little St. Bernard, from which the plains of Italy are not discernible. We have been repeatedly assured that they are not visible from any alpine pass, not even from the Grand St. Bernard, at a much greater elevation than its minor namesake. To every traveller (excepting one, who blessed with poetic vision,

And placed on high, above the storm's career,
Looks downward, where an hundred realms appear,)

c. 54.

this is perfectly intelligible, because he well knows the sinuosities of the Alpine valleys, and how uniformly the highest part of any mountain pass, is only a gorge surrounded by higher summits. But the words of Polybius do not convey any positive assertion that Hannibal either *saw* or *showed* the plains of the Po. We are told, that finding his troops discouraged, he endeavoured to cheer them by means of one thing, *τὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐνδραγείαν*, the "evidence," or "positive certainty of Italy." For, adds Polybius, it so lies under the mountains, that *συνθεωρουμένων ἀμφοῖν*, "looking upon them both together," the mountains appear to be a sort of acropolis to the whole of Italy. Whereupon, *ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πέδια*, "indicating

to them the plains of the Po," reminding them of the perfectly friendly disposition of the Gauls who dwelt there; and at the same time, τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀντὶς τόπον ὑποδεικνύων, ^{iii. c. 34.}
 "describing to them the situation of Rome itself," he succeeded in reviving their courage. There is nothing more in this, then, than Hannibal made a speech to his troops, explaining to them in a general way the nature of Italy; upon the acropolis of which, as it were, they were then placed. He described first the plains of the Po, just below them, inhabited by their allies; and then the position of Rome itself. In the previous speeches at New Carthage, and on the Rhone, he had used the same arguments, which Polybius records much in the same manner. It is worthy of remark, perhaps, that if a *sight* of Italy had been necessary to revive the spirits of the army, and the plains of the Po had really been visible, there would have been no occasion for Hannibal to call an assembly, and point out what must have been apparent to the eyes of every man in the army.

Note 3, page 100.

Absconduntur autem (Vergiliæ) altero et trigessimò die post autumnale equinoctium, quod fere conficitur nono Cal. Octobris."—*Columel*, ii. 8.

The difference in the time of the achronical setting of the Pleiades between the period of Hannibal or Polybius, and that of Columella, would not be considerable.

Note 4, page 100.

The situation and nature of this impediment in the road form one of the most curious and convincing circumstances in the whole march. In the extract from *De Saussure*, so opportunely brought forward by M. Deluc, the historian of the Alps uses almost the very words of the historian of Hannibal; and yet it is probable that nothing

was farther from the mind of the philosopher than the work of Polybius.

Note 5, page 101.

iii. c. 74.
i. c. 49.
iii. c. 46.
Reliq. xi.
c. i.
v. c. 84.

Some importance has been attached to the circumstance of elephants' bones and teeth having been found in some of the alpine streams; but the discovery of these remains seems very unauthenticated. The geological nature of the surrounding mountains renders the discovery of any fossils of this sort among the higher Alps very unlikely. It does not, however, appear from Polybius that any of Hannibal's elephants perished in crossing the Alps, although they suffered much from want of browse. The death of the elephants, all except one, is recorded to have occurred in consequence of the severe snow-storm and frost at the time of the battle of the Trebia. The elephants employed by the Carthaginians came from India—so, at least, we may infer from the circumstance of their *cornacks*, or attendants, having been Indians. The Indian elephant was the best fighter. In a battle between Antiochus and Ptolemy Philopater, a party of Indian elephants overthrew a body of African elephants, which could not endure the smell, the sound, the size, and the strength of their Asiatic adversaries. These two distinct species of elephants seem to have escaped the discrimination of Linnæus, but they have been recognized by Cuvier under the names of the *Elephas Indicus*, and *Elephas Capensis*. Had Hannibal's elephants been natives of Africa, and any of their grinders been discovered, they might have been identified with some degree of certainty; but as being of the Indian breed, their grinders would stand a chance of being confounded with those of the fossil elephant. For in the fossil elephant the lineaments of the crown of the grinders are distinguished by wavy lines, formed by parallel perpendicular laminæ, which is also the

case with the Asiatic elephant now existing ; whereas, in the existing African elephant, the lineaments are rhomboidal, or lozenge shaped. The only good authority for Hannibal's losing any of these animals during his march is that of Mr. Rogers, who kills an elephant among the Alps in a manner so animated and vividly descriptive, as almost to make us eye-witnesses, and able of ourselves to vouch for the fact.

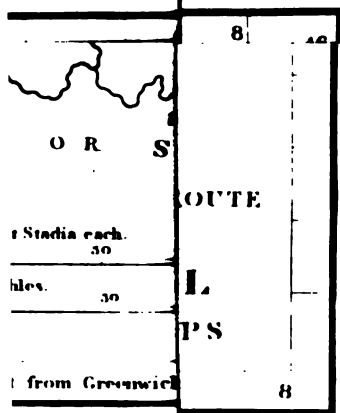
. . . . " Great was the tumult there,
Deafening the din, when in barbaric pomp
The Carthaginian, on his march to Rome,
Entered their fastnesses—trampling the snows,
The war-horse reared—and the towered elephant
Upturned his trunk into the murky sky,
Then tumbled headlong, swallowed up and lost
He and his rider.—Now the scene is changed,
And o'er the Simplon, o'er the Splugen winds
A path of pleasure."

Italy, p. 30.

THE END.

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G. R. Whittaker, 1878

LONDON :

SHACKELL AND BAYLIS, JOHNSON'S-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

A

DISSERTATION
ON THE
PASSAGE OF HANNIBAL
OVER THE ALPS.

BY
HENRY L. WICKHAM, A. M.
AND
THE REV. J. A. CRAMER, A. M.
LATE STUDENTS OF CHRIST CHURCH,
OXFORD.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ περὶ τούτων εὐθαρσῶς ἀποφαινόμεθα διὰ τὸ ——— τοὺς
τόπους κατωπετυκίνας, καὶ τῇ διὰ τῶν Ἀλπεων αὐτοῦς κηχεῖσθαι πορείᾳ
γνωστικῶς ἴσμεν καὶ θίγας. — POLYB. l. 3. c. 8.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR
G. B. WHITTAKER, AVE MARIA LANE.

1828.

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM WYNDHAM,
LORD GRENVILLE,
CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
&c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK IS INSCRIBED,
AS A TESTIMONY OF THEIR RESPECTFUL ADMIRATION
OF HIS TALENTS AS A STATESMAN,
AND OF
HIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS A SCHOLAR,
BY HIS MOST OBLIGED
AND FAITHFUL SERVANTS,
THE AUTHORS.

A
DISSERTATION,
§c. §c.

LONDON:

SHACKELL AND BAYLIS, JOHNSON'S-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

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THE AUTHORS.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

THE first edition of this Work having been more favourably received than, from the nature of the subject, we had a right to expect, we have been called upon for a second, to which we have thought it proper to put our names, as many of the facts stated in the body of the work might not be received by the reader upon anonymous authority. A few additions and corrections will be found, but no material change has been made, as a second examination of the ground in question, and of other points connected with it, has only served to convince us of the accuracy of our first statement, and

of the correctness of our general conclusions. The only work of importance which has appeared since the publication of our first edition, is that of M. Larauza, who states the passage to have been effected by the Mont Cenis ; and we have thought it right to dedicate some pages to a reply to that gentleman. M. De Luc has also published a second edition of his work, in which he has done us the honour to adopt our opinions upon almost all the points in which we had materially differed from him.

We have been further confirmed in our theory by a very able article on the subject, which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for November, 1825.

In order to leave no part of the Alps unexamined, we went, in the year 1821, from Grenoble to Gap, and Barcelonette, and into Italy by the Col de L'Argentiere, returning, by Coni and Saluzzo, over the Col de Viso, to Mont Dauphin, and again to Gap and Grenoble. Two years afterwards, we re-examined the Little St. Bernard, and the Mont du Chat ; and since that time we have visited the different passages of Les Echelles, Aiguebellette, and the Mont de L'Epine. Since

the publication of M. Larauza's work, we have traversed the Mont Cenis, for the purpose of analyzing his statements, which we found in many respects inaccurate; so that (having previously visited the Great St. Bernard) we have left no ground unexplored, and as it is only by personal examination that it is possible to form a correct opinion upon this subject, we feel ourselves justified in adhering confidently to ours. The very few weak points of our theory have been discussed, as we trust, fairly, and, we think, fairly answered; but even if unanswerable, they are so much less numerous than those pointed out in the systems of our opponents, that we might almost venture to claim a superiority on this ground alone.

The publication of M. Raymond's large Map of the Alps, which has taken place since our first edition, has given abundant facilities to the investigation of this question, as its general accuracy, and the scale on which it is laid down, will give the persons who consult it every advantage short of an actual view of the ground, while this latter advantage is now, in a great measure, supplied by Mr. Brockedon's very beautiful work on the Passes

of the Alps, to which we have alluded in the body of the work. With all these advantages, however, we should still recommend a personal examination, especially as it is now rendered much easier in every respect than when we first undertook the journey.

JUNE, 1828.

PREFACE

TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

THE wonderful undertaking which it is the purpose of the following pages to investigate would naturally have attracted great attention, if considered only with reference to its general consequences, and to its particular effects on the great contest carried on between Rome and Carthage; for this march, which carried the war from a distant province to the very gates of the former, totally changed the character of the struggle, and compelled the Romans to fight for existence instead of territory.

These events, however, are not the only causes which have thrown so much interest on the passage of the Alps by Hannibal; for the doubt and

uncertainty which have existed, even from very remote times, as to the road by which the passage was effected; the numerous and distinguished writers who have declared themselves on different sides of the question; the variation between the two great historians of the transactions of those times, Polybius and Livy; all these things united, have involved the subject in difficulties which have increased its importance, and which have long exercised many able writers in vain attempts to elucidate them.

The relation of Polybius, who lived very soon after the transactions which he describes, and who had himself examined the country for the purpose of writing his history, would naturally appear the most authentic, on account of its early date, as well as of the internal evidence which it bears of truth. Unfortunately Polybius was writing to Greeks, and was therefore, as he himself tells them, not anxious to introduce into his narrative names of places and of countries in which they were little interested, and which, if inserted, would rather have injured than assisted the unity of his story. In consequence of this, although he has been remarkably careful in giving us the distances performed by the Carthaginian army in

their march from the Pyrenees to the plains of Italy, as well as the time in which they were completed, he has been generally sparing of his proper names, and he has not positively stated in terms the name of that passage of the Alps through which Hannibal marched.

Now though the distances (which are positive) and the general description of the country, and the names of the nations (when these latter are mentioned) which the army passed through, afford, as we trust we shall shew, sufficient data to prove beyond all doubt that Hannibal passed by the *Alpis Graia*, or Little St. Bernard,* yet as this is not expressly stated, Livy, who without acknowledgment has borrowed the greater part of his own narrative from Polybius, has asserted that he went over the *Alpis Cottia*, or Mont Genevre;

* The *Alpis Graia*, or Little St. Bernard, forms the communication between the valley of the Isere and that of Aosta. It is situated a little to the south of the Mont Blanc, and is the most northerly of the passages of that division of the Alps which runs from north to south. The *Alpis Cottia* or Mont Genevre is situated to the south of the Mont Cenis and to the north of the Mont Viso, and forms the communication between Briançon and Grenoble, and the valley of Susa, which leads down to Turin. As there are no post roads over either of these two passes, they are but little frequented in comparison with the Mont Cenis and the Simplon.

and as Livy is much more read than Polybius, his account has obtained much more credit than it deserves, and has been considered as almost decisive of the question. It has been particularly adopted by almost all the French writers upon the subject, and though they differ from each other as to the road which the army took to arrive at the passage, and further, although the account itself is absolutely inconsistent in many parts, yet the authority of so great a name has almost set criticism at defiance, and his commentators have endeavoured to reconcile his contradictions as well as they were able. It was evident, however, to those who were in the habit of looking a little deeper than the surface, that Livy's account, which, even when taken by itself, was far from satisfactory, was, when compared with that of Polybius, with which it had been generally supposed to agree, very different in its conclusion; and this variation between them was so decided, that it was quite impossible that both could be right. Gibbon was so much struck with this variation, as well as with the respective characters of the two authors as historians, that he would have given up Livy at once, had he not been unable, from his ignorance of the passage alluded

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to by Polybius, to decide the question in favour of the latter. The opinion of Gibbon appears also to have been very much influenced by that of D'Anville, an authority to be respected above all others for wonderful accuracy and depth of research in matters relating to ancient topography.

D'Anville, however, is guided in his opinion by the idea that the guides of Hannibal were Taurini, a mistake which is the more extraordinary, as Livy himself states them to be Boii.* Mr. Holdsworth, who had devoted much of his time and attention to subjects of this nature,† appears to have detected Livy's inconsistencies as well as Gibbon, and to have been of opinion that the army crossed the Alps to the north of the Mont Genevre; but as he was, as well as Gibbon, unacquainted with the passage of the Little St. Bernard, he was unable to fix upon the exact spot.

It is to General Melville that the literary world has been indebted, in later times, for the suggestion of this latter pass, and it is by this suggestion that a question so long doubtful has received a most satisfactory explanation. This gentleman on

* Livy, lib. xxi. c. 29.

† Vide Spence's Anecdotes of Men and Books.

his return from the West-Indies, where he had held a high military command, turned his whole attention to the investigation of the military antiquities of the Romans, and for this purpose spent some years in travelling over France, Italy, and Germany, and examined with great attention the countries which had been the scenes of the most celebrated battles and events recorded in Roman history. From his thorough knowledge of Polybius, he was early struck with the great authority that his narrative carried with it, and he determined, if possible, to set at rest the much agitated question of the passage of the Alps by Hannibal. As he perceived that no perusal of the historian, however close and attentive, no critical sagacity or discernment, could alone enable him to arrive at the truth, unless he verified the observations of his author on the same ground, and compared his descriptions with the same scenes, as those which that author had himself visited and examined, the General surveyed attentively all the known passages of the Alps, and more particularly those which were best known to the ancients.

The result of all these observations was a firm conviction, that the passage of the Little St. Bernard was that by which Hannibal had crossed over

into Italy, both as being most probable in itself, and also as agreeing beyond all comparison more closely than any other with the description given by Polybius. The arguments and the evidence which will be brought forward in the following pages are directed to the confirmation of this opinion, and if they should appear satisfactory, the General must be looked upon as the first who has solved this problem in history. It is not indeed meant that he was absolutely the first who made the Carthaginian army penetrate by that pass into Italy, since the oldest authority on this point, that of Cælius Antipater,* as we are prepared to shew, represents it as having taken that route; but it is affirmed that he was the first to revive an opinion concerning that passage, which, although existing in full force in the traditions of the country itself, appears to have been long laid aside as forgotten, and to have rested that opinion on arguments the most solid and plausible.†

General Melville never published any account

* Vid. chap. i. post.

† Some account of the General's life and discoveries will be found in the preface to the work of M. De Luc, who quotes from the Monthly Repository of English Literature for October, 1812.

of his observations, and they would most probably have been lost to the world, had he not found in M. De Luc, of Geneva, nephew of the late distinguished philosopher of that name, a person eminently qualified to undertake the task which he himself declined, and even materially to improve upon his labours. The very able and learned work which that gentleman published at Geneva in 1818, entitled *Histoire du Passage des Alpes par Annibal*,* contains a very full and clear report of the observations of General Melville, supported by arguments and by evidence entirely original, and which must be admitted by every candid and judicious inquirer to be clear and conclusive. Had M. De Luc himself been enabled to follow the route which he describes, and to verify on the spot the whole of General Melville's observations with his own eyes, and with the same discernment with which he has actually examined a part of them, it would undoubtedly have been beyond the power of any writer, however able, to add to or to perfect his work; but though various circumstances have prevented him from accomplishing this most desirable object, it is wonderful with

* M. De Luc published, in 1825, a second edition of his work, considerably augmented.

how much clearness he has embodied the General's remarks, and how well he has described a line of country with which he was not himself personally acquainted.

For clearness of description and for acuteness of argument, M. De Luc's work cannot be sufficiently praised; and it was our intention, after we had read it, to employ ourselves in a translation of it. But for the purpose of enabling ourselves to verify his remarks, we determined to undertake a journey along the whole road pointed out by M. De Luc, from the first ascent of the Alps to the termination of the march in the plains of Italy. This journey was performed in the autumn of the year 1819.

We descended the Rhone from Lyons to Vienne, and from thence struck off, by the old Roman road; across Dauphiny, till we reached the Mont du Chat; crossing that mountain, we descended upon Chambery and Montmeillan, and from thence went up the valley of the Isere to Scez, at the foot of the Little St. Bernard. We crossed this mountain, and came through the valley of Aosta to Ivrea, and finally to Turin, by the capture of which town Hannibal's passage of the Alps may be said to be finally terminated. The whole of the country

through which we passed was beautiful, and will amply repay, by its scenery alone, the trouble of visiting it. The valleys of the Isere and of Aosta are extremely rich and populous, and cultivation is pushed almost to the very summit of the Alps.

We carried with us Polybius as well as the work of M. De Luc, and we were as fully satisfied of the general accuracy of the latter as we were of our being in the exact road pointed out by the former. Still, however, much new light was thrown upon the subject in consequence of a personal examination, and much new information was obtained. As also there are a few points in which we differ from M. De Luc, we have thought it, upon the whole, more advisable to publish the result of our observations in an original form, than to persist in our first resolution of merely translating the work of that gentleman.

We beg leave, at the same time, to disclaim all the merit of originality upon this question ; and we feel so much indebted to M. De Luc for the greater part of the remarks contained in this work, that we shall be amply satisfied if we should be allowed the praise of an impartial examination of the ground with Polybius in our hands, together with a most earnest desire to arrive at the truth.

It may seem extraordinary that the passage over the Little St. Bernard should have so entirely escaped the observation of all modern writers upon this subject ; but the almost total disuse into which it had fallen, in consequence of the establishment of the road by the Echelles. which was constructed in 1670, and of that by the Mont Cenis, which now forms the great passage into Italy on that side, will sufficiently account for this circumstance. At present, however, notwithstanding this disuse, there is a considerable intercourse between the vallies of Aosta and of the Isere, and the road along the latter is excellent as far as Scez.

The Tarantaise, into which you enter at Conflans, is a very populous country, and the inhabitants are remarkable for a spirit of independence, which makes them avoid much communication with their more civilized neighbours ; though they are among themselves extremely hospitable and kind. The road over the St. Bernard itself, is at present impassable for carriages as far as La Tuille, but from thence to Aosta it is very tolerable, and from that town to Ivrea and Turin it is excellent.* We passed

* These roads have been much improved since 1819.

through some very fine country in Dauphiny, and Vienne, the town from which we first set out, abounds in Roman remains. The Roman road from Vienne to Ivrea appears to have been carried in almost the exact track of the modern one. We employed eight days in going from Vienne to Turin, and found very little difficulty in obtaining means of conveyance. Although we were fully convinced of the justness of our opinion by this journey, yet in order to satisfy ourselves completely, we determined to return by the Mont Genevre to Briançon and Grenoble. And this latter tour has enabled us to prove, we think beyond contradiction, that it is absolutely impossible for the Carthaginian army to have taken this road, at least if the authority of Polybius is to be considered of any weight in deciding the question.

It may be proper here to state briefly the precise road which we conceive Hannibal to have taken, and which we shall develop more at length hereafter. After crossing the Pyrenees at Bellegarde, he went to Nîmes, through Perpignan, Narbonne, Béziers, and Montpellier, as nearly as possible in the exact track of the great Roman road. From Nîmes he marched to the Rhone, which he crossed

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at Roquemaure, and then went up the river to Vienne, or possibly a little higher. From thence, marching across the flat country of Dauphiny in order to avoid the angle which the river makes at Lyons, he rejoined it at St. Genis d'Aouste. He then crossed the Mont du Chat to Chambery, joined the Isere at Montmeillan, ascended it as far as Scez, crossed the Little St. Bernard, and descended upon Aosta and Ivrea by the banks of the Doria Baltea. After halting for some time at Ivrea, he marched upon Turin, which he took, and then prepared himself for ulterior operations against the Romans.

To establish any road at all, it was necessary to be guided exclusively either by Polybius or by Livy; for the accounts of these two historians cannot, as we shall shew hereafter, be possibly reconciled with each other. For reasons which will be stated in the 1st chapter, but principally because Livy's account is inconsistent with itself, we have taken Polybius as our guide. It will be shewn, that the road which has just been laid down agrees in a most extraordinary manner with the one which he describes, especially as to the distances. It may indeed be safely said, that there is only one single

point of difference between us, and that one relates to the plains of Italy, which are said to have been pointed out to the army from the summit of the Alps. As it will be shewn that these plains can be seen from no known passage whatever of the Alps, we trust that this variation will not be looked upon as material. In every thing else we agree.

M. De Luc's arrangement of giving the substance of the Greek author at the head of each chapter has been adopted, and will be found convenient, but a literal translation of the whole has been added in the Appendix.

After the establishment of our own theory, we have proceeded to remark upon the other routes which have been at different times proposed. The work of M. De Luc was attacked soon after it appeared by two French gentlemen, who were anxious to defend their favourite Livy. The pamphlet of the first, M. Le Comte Fortia d'Urban, has been so completely refuted by the observations of the second, M. Letronne, that it has not been deemed necessary to take notice of it; but we have endeavoured to shew that this latter author has been himself equally mistaken in his own theory.

The map which accompanies this work will, we

have every reason to believe, be found correct. We have inserted in it the modern as well as the Roman roads, and we have given the ancient as well as modern names of towns; great care has been taken in laying down the chain of the Alps, and when we add, that it has been executed by Mr. Arrowsmith, we need say no more in its favour. Some plans of places interesting in the discussion will also be found; they were taken on the spot, and we believe we may answer for their accuracy.

With respect to distances, we have adopted D'Anville's calculation, which is given in his *Mesures Itinéraires*; he fixes the miles as follows:

The Roman mile 756 toises.

The English mile 826

The Geographical 951

The Roman mile, according to Polybius, was divided into eight stadia; and it is to be observed, that when miles are mentioned in this work, Roman miles are always meant, unless otherwise expressed.

ERRATA.

Page	Line
1,	11, dele the comma.
18,	20, for "Laransa," read <i>Laransa</i> .
19,	6, dele the comma.
31,	26, for "Conflans ad Publicanos," read <i>Ad Publicanos</i> (<i>Conflans</i> .)
34,	11, for "in," read <i>intend</i> .
52,	7, for "ἀντὶ ἀφας," read ἀντὶἀφας.
84,	17, for "ascent at," read <i>descent from</i> .
92,	30, for "I am," read <i>We are</i> .
113,	15, for Pr St. Didier," read <i>Pré St. Didier</i> .
115,	16, 23, for "I," and "I am," read <i>We</i> , and <i>We are</i> .
226,	20, for "labeurs," read <i>labours</i> .
231,	21, for "Aoste," read <i>St. Genis d'Aouste</i> .

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A

DISSERTATION,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS. CHARACTER OF POLYBIUS.
EARLY HISTORY OF THE ALPS.

WHEN it is declared in the very outset of this inquiry, that the narration of Polybius is assumed as the entire basis and ground-work on which it rests, it immediately becomes necessary to lay before the reader the reasons which seem to place that historian's authority so much above that of every other competitor, and to prove that he is the only safe and sure guide whom we can follow in our investigation; and though the inquiry may perhaps lead us into what may seem a minute examination of his character, as an historian and geographer, yet ^{on} the issue of the question rests so materially ~~on~~ the credit due to his account, that we therefore hope to be pardoned for entering into it somewhat at length.

Of the capacity and fitness of Polybius to des-

cribe great military events, and particularly those of that memorable period, which, after a long and desperate struggle between the two great rivals, Rome and Carthage, secured to the former the empire of the world, we shall presently be assured, if we consider, what education he had received, what scenes and revolutions he had witnessed, and whence he derived those sources of knowledge, which alone could fit him for so important a task.

Bred in the school of Philopœmen, whose military genius shed a brilliant though transient lustre over the decaying fortunes and glory of Greece, Polybius, whose father Lycortas was himself a distinguished statesman and warrior, could have no better guide to train his youthful mind in the pursuit of knowledge, and direct him in the attainment of those qualities, which adorn alike the character of a general and politician. Born with no common talents, and under the auspices of a government which then alone raised its head against tyranny and oppression, and struggled for the dying liberties of Greece, his mind could not fail of early developing itself, and laying up, for a maturer age, an ample store of valuable and diversified acquirements. While in the camp and field he learned the duties of a captain and soldier, and made himself master of the art of tactics, and whole science of war; at home he became no less versed in all the branches of political knowledge, which the complicated divisions and dissensions

of Greece then rendered so necessary to the education of one, whose services were to be exerted in the administration of his country, or in furthering its interests abroad in a diplomatic capacity.

At the age of twenty-four he accompanied his father on an embassy to Ptolemy Epiphanes, King of Egypt; on which occasion he seems so far to have conciliated the favour and esteem of that court by his merit and talents, that the successor of Ptolemy, upon sending to the Achæans for aid, according to the terms of their alliance,* requested that Polybius, then in his thirty-seventh year, might have the command of the cavalry.

The jealousy, however, with which the Roman Senate began to view the appearance of such talents and abilities in a citizen of a country† so fertile in genius and patriotism, soon summoned Polybius to Rome, already the capital of the world. It is to this removal, cruel and unjust no doubt, though honourable to the merit and virtues which it was meant to stifle in their growth, that we owe one of the noblest histories, if we may judge from the grandeur of the design and the remains preserved to us, that the world ever saw.

Transplanted to a soil, which afforded so much more scope for an expansive genius; to a field which could satisfy at once the wide views of the historian, warrior, statesman, and philosopher; he

* Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. i. c. 19.

† Harles, Introd. in Hist. Ling. Græc. sect. 3. p. 284.

contemplated the scene before him as a citizen of the world, and consoling himself with the idea, that his country did but share the universal fate of nations, he formed the project of describing the events and unfolding the causes which raised Rome to the pinnacle of power and glory, and laid the world at her feet.

He arrived at Rome* about thirty-five years after Hannibal had been forced to quit Italy; at a time when that city, though mistress of nations and empires, must have had the dangers, under which it had so nearly fallen, still fresh in its recollection. The terrors which the name of the Carthaginian General had created, had scarcely yet subsided; the wounds which he had inflicted were scarcely yet healed; so that every information, which regarded that great captain and his actions, might have been easily obtained from living witnesses, and actors on that great theatre of war. A close acquaintance with the most illustrious characters of Rome,† among whom was young Scipio Æmilianus, attracted towards him by his superior talents and merit; a keen and impartial judgment joined to unwearied research and patient investigation, placed within his reach documents of the most valuable and authentic nature; to their truth indeed the concurrent sentiment of antiquity, and the internal character of his works,

* Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. i. p. 19.

† Polyb. Fragm. lib. xxxii. c. 10.

bear ample and unfeigned testimony.* Probity, sincerity, and candour are peculiarly stamped upon all his writings; to these he has sacrificed the ornaments of style, the beauties of description, and embellishments of art: and while history shall be appreciated as a genuine guide and instructor through life, so long will his works be preferred to the more polished but less authentic narratives of other historians.

It is natural to suppose, that a character like that of Hannibal, which formed so prominent a feature in the period of history which Polybius meant to describe, could not fail of attracting a large portion of his attention. We should be led to expect, from so candid and impartial a writer, a true and fair account of that extraordinary man, who by his sole energy grappled with the gigantic power of Rome at her very threshold, and for a time stemmed the torrent that was destined to overflow the world. Viewing the second Punic war as the great struggle which decided the fate of the world, Polybius has omitted no previous information or circumstance, which might tend to bring his readers to a full and perfect conception of this momentous contest. The causes, pretences, and motives, which led to the war, are examined, distinguished, and balanced with the utmost attention, and most scrupulous nicety; we have a sure

* See Casaubon's Preface, in Schweighæuser's ed. p. 15.

guarantee of his adherence to truth and equity, from his daring, more than once, openly to charge the Romans with injustice and ambitious views; and we feel assured, that in him at least, Greece had not yet deserved the epithet of false. In order to make his readers fully acquainted with the nature and character of this contest, he lays before them the resources of each nation and their allies; particularly of the Gauls, on whose assistance and co-operation Hannibal relied so much, in his invasion of Italy. Their wars with the Romans, and inveterate hatred against that people, are detailed at length;* their numbers, importance, and geographical position, are defined with clearness and precision; no information, in short, is omitted, which could be deemed useful for the understanding of subsequent events.

But of all points connected with the history of the second Punic war, there is none which seems to have interested him so deeply, or which he appears to have been at so much pains in elucidating and describing, as the journey of Hannibal from Spain into Italy; as being an event so interesting and memorable in itself, and displaying the character and talents of that great commander in so striking a point of view; and because accounts so romantic and improbable had been given of it by other writers, as to involve the whole transaction in doubt and mystery.

* Polyb. lib. ii. c. 17.

His ardent love of truth, and thirst for geographical knowledge, and every thing connected with military science, led Polybius to trace the march of the Carthaginian army from the Ebro to the Rhone, and subsequently over the Alps into Italy; by which means he has been able to ascertain with accuracy each position and locality, and obtain information, which must in vain have been sought for in any other manner; he himself declares, that if there is any part of his history, on the accuracy and certainty of which he may speak with the greatest confidence,* it is this; as having received the accounts which he delivers, from persons who were living at the time when the events took place, and having travelled in the Alps, in order to obtain certain and precise information on this subject. His knowledge indeed of this chain of mountains, of the different passes that led through it from Italy into Gaul, and of the numerous tribes that inhabited its valleys, seems to have been both extensive and accurate; since Strabo,† who wrote more than a century and a half later, has not scrupled to borrow from Polybius's geographical works, now lost to us, much of his account concerning these mountains.

If now the character of Polybius be weighed with that of Livy, every impartial mind must easily discover, how far he surpasses the Roman

* Polyb. lib. iii. c. 48.

† Harles, sect. iv. p. 319.

writer in all the great points that determine the value and authority of an historian; nor can we institute a more just comparison between them than that with which Gibbon furnishes us, when examining this very question.

“ Nobody,” says Gibbon,* “ admires more than
“ I do the historical merit of Livy; the majestic
“ flow of his narrative, in which events follow
“ each other with rapidity, yet without hurry or
“ confusion; and the continual beauty and energy
“ of his style, which transports his readers from
“ their closets to the scene of action. But here
“ we have to do not with the orator, but with the
“ witness. Considered in this view, Livy appears
“ merely as a man of letters, covered with the
“ dust of his library, little acquainted with the art
“ of war, careless in point of geography, and who
“ lived two centuries after Hannibal’s expedi-
“ tion.

“ In the whole of his recital, we may perceive
“ rather a romantic picture, calculated to please
“ the fancy, than a faithful and judicious history,
“ capable of satisfying the understanding. The
“ God who appeared to the Carthaginian general,
“ the mountains accessible to him alone,† the
“ vinegar with which he split the rocks, are fables
“ which Livy relates without criticism, as without

* Gibbon’s Misc. Works, vol. ii. p. 182, 3.

† Tit. Liv. lib. xxi. c. 22. lib. xxi. c. 37.

“ suspicion. We seem to read Homer describing
“ the exploits of Achilles. In Polybius, on the
“ other hand, we meet with nothing but unadorned
“ simplicity and plain reason. A justness of think-
“ ing, rare in his age and country, united to a
“ sterility of fancy still more rare, made him pre-
“ fer the truth, which he thoroughly knew, to
“ ornaments which he was perhaps more inclined
“ to despise, because he felt himself incapable of
“ attaining them. He had examined attentively
“ and skilfully with his own eyes the country
“ between the Po and the Ebro, where he might
“ collect the precious remains of tradition, which
“ the period of sixty years had not been able to
“ efface ; and where he might converse with some
“ of the old men of the country, who had in their
“ youth either resisted Hannibal’s invasion, or fol-
“ lowed his standard. His journey to those parts
“ was undertaken with the express purpose of
“ gaining information in the country itself, and of
“ substituting, instead of the fables which already
“ overflowed the public, a plain and authentic
“ history of this famous expedition of the Cartha-
“ ginians. The work which has come down to us
“ is the fruit of this design. To finish the parallel,
“ I must add, that Livy’s narrative cannot be re-
“ conciled with itself any more than with that of
“ Polybius.* His obscurities and contradictions

* Cluver. *It. Ant. lib. i. c. 33. p. 370-375.* Crevier’s *Preface to Livy.* Reiske’s *Pref. to Polyb.*

“baffle the ablest geographers; whereas the account of Polybius is clear and well connected.”*

Here then it seems natural to ask, why, since Polybius's authority seems to rest on such firm and indisputable grounds, and his account to be deserving of so much greater credit than that of any other writer, any question should have arisen respecting the event we are now examining, or the subject have ever been involved in doubt and obscurity? The question here started will perhaps best be answered, if we reflect on the plan which Polybius himself states that he has followed in the geographical part of his history, and more particularly in his narrative of Hannibal's march from Spain to the Ticino.

It should be observed,† that Polybius was writing principally for his countrymen, to whom Spain and Gaul, and generally the western parts of Europe, were but little known, and who would,

* Gibbon however, misled by Cluverius, conceived that Polybius took Hannibal over the Great St. Bernard: and being very naturally surprised at his choosing so circuitous a route, still wavered between the two opinions. “On doit être surpris,” says M. de Luc, “qu’il n’ait pas soupçonné qu’il devoit y avoir entre le Mont Genevre et le Grand St. Bernard, un autre passage, qui pourroit mieux convenir au récit de Polybe, et qu’il n’ait pas, en conséquence, fait des recherches sur les voies Romaines, et même sur les passages des Alpes fréquentés avant que les Romains eussent ouvert leurs voies militaires au travers de ces montagnes.” *Hist. du Pass. des Alpes*, p. 274.

† Polyb. lib. iii. c. 4.

as he says, derive as little information and instruction from the names of people and places with which they were unacquainted, as from mere sounds that strike the ear without satisfying the understanding ; and he conceives, that by dividing the heavens into four quarters, and considering the several parts of the earth as situated under one of these divisions, the mind is able to refer that which is less known to something of which it has a fixed and definite notion. Now, how correct soever this principle may be, yet, in its application, Polybius, it must be confessed, is somewhat vague and indistinct ; to us indeed this must be apparent, who are possessed of such accurate methods of ascertaining the latitude and position of any place on the globe's surface. Yet this will sufficiently account for the omission of names both of places, people, and rivers, which, had they been mentioned by Polybius, would long ago have removed all doubt as to the precise point by which Hannibal entered Italy.*

Still, however, though the data which Polybius affords us in the solution of this question be few,

* Here perhaps we may be allowed to remark, how little seems to have been done towards the improvement of geography by the Romans : and that while they paid scarcely any attention to that branch of knowledge, the Greeks from the earliest times seem to have pursued the science with ardour and success ; as may be seen by the works of Herodotus, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Strabo, and Ptolemy.

yet, as we hope to shew, they are fully adequate to lead us to the truth ; and after all, the fault will be found to rest not with the historian, but with those commentators who have misconceived and misinterpreted his meaning. Had an inquiry been instituted at the first with the same zeal, and the same judicious mode of investigation, which have been displayed by General Melville and M. De Luc, every difficulty would long ago have been cleared up, and much fruitless labour, and many useless comments would have been spared. We must yet notice another, and not less fruitful source of error, which is the attempt so often made to reconcile the accounts of the two historians ; this is more particularly the case with French writers, who lay great stress on the authority of the Roman historian, and who have also bowed to the decision of their countryman, the Chevalier Folard, in his *Commentary on Polybius*.^{*} When we come to examine the narrative of Livy by itself, we shall then be best able to judge whether such an attempt can be attended with success.

To sum up, then, the arguments for preferring the narrative of Polybius to that of Livy ; we have on the one side the authority of a writer who lived

^{*} Folard, though he might be an able tactician, has, in discussing this question, fallen into numberless errors, which will be pointed out in a more proper place.

a very short time after the events which he describes, whose account is plain, consistent with itself, and bearing internal evidence of its truth, while, on the other, we have an author whose love for the marvellous, and whose grave recital of miracles necessarily throw a doubt on his veracity : while his good sense and acuteness are equally liable to be impeached on account of the repeated inconsistencies of his narrative, and the constant sacrifice of truth to the ornaments of style. The unsuccessful attempts of some later writers to reconcile the variations of the two accounts, prove that the only just conclusion that can be drawn from a comparison of them, is that Livy discovers his own weakness the most when he departs from the narrative of Polybius, that he copies him without acknowledgment, and that being ignorant of the country which he describes, he falls into manifest errors both when he pursues his own theory, and when he attempts to reconcile it to that of his predecessor.

Sufficient seems now to have been said to establish the superior authority of Polybius on the question before us : so that it only remains for us to trace the route according to his directions, and interpret his opinion in the fairest and most impartial manner in our power ; and it is our intention, in the first place, to throw aside all other accounts, and to be guided altogether in our investigation by him, and by what we conceive to

be his line of road, reserving our observations on other authors to a later period. We have already detailed in the preface, our opinions on the exact line followed by Polybius, and we shall support these opinions in subsequent chapters. In order, however, fully to understand the subject, it will be expedient, before we examine and comment upon Polybius's narrative, to inquire into the knowledge which the Romans possessed concerning the Alps in the earliest times; the roads which were made across them; and the different nations, which at different periods penetrated through them from Gaul or Germany to settle in Italy.

The Romans could have been but little acquainted with the Alps before Hannibal's expedition: their wars indeed with the Cisalpine Gauls had brought them to the foot of that vast chain; they must have known that these barbarians, with whom they were contending, had come from another country, and crossed these mountains to settle in the fertile plains of Northern Italy. Their early connection with Marseilles would also be the means of making them first acquainted with Transalpine Gaul; but their communication with that city was only open to them by sea, and they had never hitherto attempted to send their legions over the natural barrier of Italy. The savage and uncivilized state of the wild tribes, that from the earliest times occupied these mountainous regions, would of course render private intercourse and

communication with Gaul still more precarious and difficult. Tradition indeed declared, that Hercules had once penetrated with a large army into Italy, and had left more than one memorial of his passage over the Alps; but later times esteemed that to be one of the many fabulous tales which had their rise in the poetical imagination and fancy of the Greeks. When Hannibal, however, had been driven from Italy, and Carthage conquered; when Spain and Gaul had become Roman provinces; then the Alps were often crossed by Roman armies,* and even travellers ventured to explore those regions of frost and snow; and trade and commerce found their way over those passes, which nature pointed out as affording the most convenient and easy communication.

It was not, however, till the time of Augustus that the Alps† came to be well known and frequented: that emperor, either by the force of his arms, or by conciliatory measures, finally subdued and civilized the fierce clans that occupied the Alpine districts; he caused roads to be constructed, and towns to be built in the heart of their mountains, and succeeded in establishing a free and easy

* Polyb. lib. iii.

† The whole chain, extending from the Tyrrhenian sea to the head of the Adriatic, was then divided into seven different parts, to each of which a separate name was assigned; 1. The Maritime; 2. Cottian; 3. Graian; 4. Pennine; 5. Rhætic; 6. Noric; 7. Carnic or Julian.

communication between Italy and all the parts of his extensive empire.

Strabo informs us, that Polybius, who is the earliest authority on the subject, mentions only four passages over the Alps.*

“The first, through the Ligurians, close to the Tyrrhenian Sea; the second, through the country of the Taurini, which Hannibal traversed; the third, through that of the Salassi; the fourth, over the Rhætian Alps—all precipitous.” With regard to this passage of Strabo, it is necessary to observe, that it contains a positive assertion, that Hannibal passed by the road leading through the country of the Taurini, and if this assertion was made by Polybius, it ought certainly to be considered as decisive of the question, which it is the object of this dissertation to determine. But the best proof that can be offered against this conclusion, and in favour of the opinion that the words ἦν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν, are Strabo's own, is furnished by Polybius himself, who positively asserts, (l. 3. c. 56.) that Hannibal descended among the Insubrians, before he invaded the territory of the Taurini, consequently, he could not have stated, that he passed the Alps of the latter, without contradicting himself.

* Πολύβιος δὲ τίτταρας ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον διὰ Λιγύων μὲν, τῆς ἑγγίστα τῇ Τυρρήνικῃ πελάγῃ· εἴτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν· εἴτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν, τετάρτην δὲ, τὴν διὰ Ῥαιτῶν· ἀπάσας κρημυνώδεις.
l. iv. in fin.

And in fact, Strabo not unfrequently connects the mention of Hannibal, with those places which his passage had rendered memorable. Examples of this will be found, in l. v. p. 217, 226, 249, and l. vi. p. 284. In this instance, he has followed the opinion which was maintained by Livy, and which was most prevalent in his time. If Polybius had expressly named the passage by which he affirmed that Hannibal had crossed the Alps, it would not have been a subject of doubt and controversy, as Livy asserts it to have been, when he was writing his history. The question, in truth, may be thus stated. We have two contradictory assertions; in favour of the one, we have Polybius's own authority, as laid down in his own work; in favour of the other, we have it, taken even in the most favourable light, at second-hand in the works of Strabo. We may therefore reasonably conclude, that the easiest way of reconciling this difference will be to attribute the assertion in Strabo to that author himself, and to leave the passage in Polybius untouched.

The first of the passages, mentioned by Strabo, through the Ligurians, passed over the maritime Alps, from Genoa, through Monaco, and Nice, to Arles; this was already a Roman way in the time of Polybius, being the first made out of Italy, and was known by the name of the *Via Aurelia*.*

* Bergier, *Hist. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain*, liv. iii. p. 347.

The second through the country of the *Taurini*, over the *Saltus Taurinus*, now *Mont Genevre*, into *Gaul*.*

The third through the *Salassi*, over the *Graian Alp*, or the *Little St. Bernard*, to *Vienne* on the *Rhone*.

The last from *Milan*, through *Como*, by the *Rhætian Alps*, *Mont Splugen* or *Septimer*, to *Coire* in the *Grisons*.

Now if we take into consideration, that from *Polybius's* account, *Hannibal's* route seems to have been previously known and frequented, and that the four passes above named were all that the historian himself was acquainted with; it will be obvious that the object of our search must coincide with one of these, and consequently that our inquiry need not extend itself to such as were in use only subsequently to the times of which we are now speaking.† As no one, however, has

* The hypothesis of *M. Laranza*, that this road passed over the *Mont Cenis*, will be discussed hereafter; we follow, at present, the generally received opinion.

† Thus the *Mons Penninus* or *Great St. Bernard*, appears to have been but little known in *Cæsar's* time, since he tells us, that the communication by that passage was attended with much difficulty and danger; and that he was the first to render it more practicable. *Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. iii. c. 1.* The *Mont Cenis* does not appear to have been known to the *Romans*; nor is it mentioned till the time of *Charlemagne*. *Aimoinus, Franc. Rer. lib. iv. c. 60. et lib. v. c. 35.* See also *De Luc's* remarks on that mountain, p. 25.

ever contemplated the possibility of Hannibal's having passed by the Maritime Alps, or the Grisons, there will in fact remain only two passes between which any doubt can lie, the Mont Genevre and the Little St. Bernard; so that we may now proceed to inquire, into the earliest accounts which history affords us, respecting these two mountains, according to the order in which they have been placed.

The first information we have relative to Mont Genève, as a passage frequented by the Roman armies on their way to Gaul, is derived from Cæsar, who seems to have crossed that mountain with part of his army at least, when proceeding from Italy to oppose a formidable inroad of the Helvetii into the Roman province. The account of his march is very concise, and, from that circumstance, attended with a certain degree of obscurity. As the passage is interesting, and seems to throw some light on the history of these mountains, we may perhaps be allowed to hazard some remarks upon it.

Cæsar* tells us that having drawn together five

* —qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrones et Garoceli, et Caturiges, locis superioribus occupatis, itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his præliis pulsus, ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciæ extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciæ die septimo pervenit: inde in Allobrogum fines. Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. i. c. 11.

legions, he set out on his march into Transalpine Gaul from Ocelum, which he terms the extreme point of the Cisalpine province. For the knowledge of this place, which has generally been mistaken, some supposing it to be Exilles, others Oulx, we are indebted to the sagacity and judicious researches of D'Anville, who has ascertained beyond a doubt that it must have occupied the position of Uxeau in the valley of Pragelas near Fenestrelles.* We learn also from Strabo, that the next station on that road was Scincomagus, which D'Anville with equal felicity has discovered to be the Chamlat de Scinguin on the other side of the Col de Sestrieres; the road therefore must clearly have passed over that Col; and Cæsar would then probably, for the first time, meet with that opposition from the mountaineers which he describes. It is however in reconciling the names of these people with the position of the Col de Sestrieres,† that the main difficulty of the passage seems to consist. Of the Centrones, who are here for the first time named in history, it is known for certain, that they inhabited the valley of the Upper Isere, or that part of Savoy which is called la Tarantaise; it is not therefore easy to conceive, how they could have taken part in an action, from the scene of which they were so remote. Of the Garoceli or Graioceli next mentioned much less is known; it

* Not. de l'Anc. Gaule, p. 500.

† See the map.

is conceived, however, and with great probability, that they must have occupied that part of the chain, which lies between Mont Iseran and Mont Genevre; the latter belonging to the Caturiges, who are the last mentioned. The Garoceli thus placed between the Centrones and Caturiges* (the latter occupying Briançon and the valley of the Durance, as far as Embrun,) must have inhabited the valleys in the vicinity of Mont Cenis and the Upper part of the Maurienne. This seems further confirmed by old writings, in which the name of St. Jean de Maurienne appears as Sanctus Johannes Garocellius.† It is not improbable, that Cæsar might have sent part of his army through the country of the Centrones in the first instance, as also another division through that of the Garoceli. This explanation would obviate the difficulty of supposing the mountaineers, mentioned by Cæsar, to have assembled on one point, from a line of such extent as that which lies between the Little St. Bernard and Mont Genevre; a distance which even across the mountains, from the valley of the Isère to that of the Arc, and thence to the Mont Genevre, cannot be estimated at less than 60 miles. If we consider that Cæsar had with him five legions, the difficulty of subsisting so large a force on one line in these mountains would sufficiently account for his dividing it, and choosing to penetrate

* Not. de l'Anc. Gaule. † Theatr. Sabaud. vol. ii. p. 19.

into Gaul by different points ; besides, it may be added, that the two first routes would lead his troops immediately into the country of the Allobroges, the end of his march.

Cæsar* however, with the greater part of his army, no doubt passed by the Mont Genevre, and there encountered the Caturiges. Of his subsequent march we only gather, that on the seventh day from his quitting Ocelum he arrived on the borders of the Vocontii, and thence into the country of the Allobroges : he proceeded probably along the Durance as far as Embrun,† and

* It should be observed, that Cæsar was then traversing the territory of Cottius, or more properly of Donnus his father, an Alpine chieftain, who had formed to himself a kind of principality among these mountains. Cottius is represented as lurking in the fastnesses of his Alps, and even defying the power of Rome, till the policy of Augustus thought it worth while to conciliate him with the title of king. This circumstance will explain why the road here mentioned should have crossed both the Col de Sestrieres and Mont Genevre, instead of proceeding directly from Susa to the Mont Genevre by the valley of Exilles and Oulx ; as the latter led through the heart of Cottius's dominions, the former through a small part of them only ; hence we find, that in later times when Cottius was become an ally, and these Alps had taken his name, the Col de Sestrieres was abandoned ; the stations in the Itineraries, being Fines, Segusio, ad Martis ; that is, by Susa, Oulx, &c. Wesseling. Itiner. p. 341. See the inscription on the arch at Susa, Theatr. Sab. vol. i. Strabo, lib. iv. p. 312. Pliny, iii. 20. Dio. Cass. lx. 24. Marcellinus, xv. 10. Ovid. Eleg. Pont. vii.

† Wesseling, Anton. Itiner. p. 357.

thence by Gap and Die to Valence, and so across the Isere into the territory of the Allobroges.

It appears then from this passage of Cæsar, that the Romans had already at that time a military road over Mont Genevre; but when it was first opened we are not precisely informed; there is, however, good reason to believe that this is the road to which Pompey alludes, as having first rendered it practicable for troops, when marching into Spain against Sertorius.* In a letter to the Senate, which has been preserved to us by Sallust, he says, “*Nomine modo imperii a vobis accepto, diebus XL exercitum paravi, hostesque in cervicibus jam Italiæ agentes, ab Alpibus in Hispaniam submovi;† per eas iter aliud atque Hannibal, nobis opportunius patefecit.*”‡ It certainly was esteemed to be the shortest passage into Gaul; and as to its being so, this account of Pom-

* This conjecture seems strengthened by the fact, which Pliny mentions, of certain districts of Cottius's dominions having been admitted among the municipal towns of Italy by a law of Pompey. Plin. lib. iii. c. 24. We know also from Pliny, that Pompey, in a trophy erected by him on the summit of the Pyrenees, boasted of having reduced in this very expedition 876 towns. Plin. lib. iii. p. 298. Strabo, lib. iii. p. 156.

† Sallust. Hist. lib. iii. fragm.

‡ Appian also tells us, that Pompey opened a road in the Alps different from that of Hannibal, between the sources of the Po and Rhone. Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i. Some have supposed that Pompey's road might have passed by the Col d'Argentiere, and the valley of the Stura, but this never appears to have been in use.

pey agrees entirely with that of Cæsar, Strabo,* and Ammianus Marcellinus. Hence we might fairly argue, that, in Pompey's opinion at least, Hannibal had not passed by the Mont Genevre, and it is not improbable that the circumstance of the direct road from Spain into Italy, leading over the Mont Genevre, gave rise to the opinion that Hannibal must have gone by that passage, as the shortest and most direct, putting the Maritime Alps out of the question, to which there were military obstacles from the neighbourhood of the Roman army. It is upon this *prima facie* evidence that Bonaparte, in his Memoirs (vol. 2, *Mélanges Historiques*) has given his opinion in favour of the passage of the Mont Genevre, an opinion which will be discussed hereafter.

But if we are to give credit to Livy, we must suppose the Mont Genevre to have been frequented in times greatly anterior to those of Pompey and Cæsar; for this is the passage which that historian states most of the tribes of the Gauls to have chosen in their migrations into Italy. Now as the account of these transactions is of some consequence to the proper understanding of this inquiry, it may not be useless to examine awhile the history which Livy has given us of them.

He states,† that the first passage of the Gauls took place under the reign of Tarquinius Priscus,

* Strabo, lib. iv. p. 285.

† Liv. lib. v. c. 34.

and enumerates five distinct migrations, differing in that respect from Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch, who speak only of one. Of these he describes three, as proceeding over the *Saltus Taurinus* or *Mont Genevre*, and one by the *Pennine Alps*, or the *Great St. Bernard*; the fifth seems uncertain. Though the account of these transactions is given with sufficient detail of circumstance, we discover upon examination many points which tend to render the whole confused, and difficult to be explained or reconciled with the true principles of geography. We are told, that *Bellovesus*, a Celtic prince, with the superabundant population of the *Bituriges*, *Arverni*, *Senones*, *Ædui*, *Ambarri*, and other nations of Gaul, proceeded in quest of a country where they might settle; that he arrived among the *Tricastini*, and afterwards assisted the *Phocæans*, who had just landed, and were preparing to found *Marseilles*, against the *Salyes*. He then with all his forces crossed the Alps by the *Saltus Taurinus*, and having defeated the *Tuscans* near the *Ticinus*, founded *Milan*. The *Cenomanni* come next by the same pass, and found *Brescia* and *Verona* in the country of the *Libui*. The *Salluvii* are the third, and are followed by the *Boii* and *Lingones*, who cross over the *Mons Penninus*, and settle on the right bank of the *Po*.

The whole of this account presents difficulties so apparent and obvious, as to throw no small

doubt on the accuracy of Livy's researches into these facts.

In the first place, the Boii,* who seem more properly to have been a German or Helvetian tribe, and the Lingones, a people of Gaul, who occupied part of Franche-Comté and Burgundy, are united together, and sent over the Pennine Alps, which, according to Livy's own account,† could not have been passable even in Hannibal's time, nor could it have been a pass frequented in Polybius's time, since it is not one of the four mentioned by Strabo upon his authority.

Again, the Cenomanni are made to occupy the territory of the Libui, or, as they ought more properly to be called, the Libicii, which certainly was not situated so far to the east as Brescia and Verona, but lay, as we learn from Polybius,‡ to the west of all the other Gauls.

But the account of the first migration does not seem the least improbable. Here we have a vast multitude of the tribes inhabiting the central and south-eastern parts of Gaul, seemingly wandering from their native country at random, and quite uncertain whither they were bending their course: finally arriving at the Alps without even knowing that the country beyond was habitable, much less what was its fertility, resources, and population.

* Cluv. Germ. Antiq. Avent. Annal. Boior. Not. de l'Anc. Gaule, p. 166—417.

† Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 38.

‡ Polyb. lib. ii. cap. 17.

Why they should have wandered so low as the Tricastini,* and still lower even, to the vicinity of Marseilles, seems equally strange. Certainly there can be no reason why the valley of the Durance, by which Livy must suppose them to have reached the Alps, should have been more early peopled, and better known to the rest of Gaul than that of the Isere, so much its superior in extent and fertility, and situated so much nearer those parts of France, from which the emigration we are speaking of took place. Again, if these tribes had penetrated into Italy by the *Saltus Taurinus*, would they have wandered so far as Milan to establish themselves, and form a settlement, when such a position as that of Turin presented itself to them on their first arrival? How much more probable is it, that each tribe penetrated into Italy by the pass nearest to the point where it settled, and nearest also to that from whence it set out; thus the *Salvies* or *Salluvii*, and other *Ligurians* in Gaul, will be made to arrive in Italy by the *Cottian Alps*, and found Turin.† The *Arverni*, *Ædui*, and *Insubres* penetrate through the country of the *Allobroges* and by the valley of the *Isere*, and

* The position of the Tricastini is clearly marked by the little town of St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux, about fifteen miles to the north of Orange on the Rhone; nor is there any authority for supposing them to have extended much beyond that district. See D'Anville, *Notice de l'Anc. Gaule*, p. 100—655.

† Strabo, lib. iv. p. 312. Plin. lib. iii. cap. 21.

reach Italy by the Graian Alp. It will be seen by the inspection of D'Anville's map of ancient Gaul, that these people occupied the provinces of Auvergne, Bresse, the Lyonnais, and Bourbonnois, bordering on the country of the Allobroges or Dauphiné, and Savoy; and the Arverni, the most powerful of these tribes, are known to have been early connected with the Allobroges.* Hence it is probable that they must have had some communication with Italy before they set out on their expedition; and this supposition agrees with Polybius's account, who states, that these Gauls were urged to this attempt by the information they had received, of the extreme fertility of the plains possessed by the Tuscans.† Pliny also mentions, that Helico, an Helvetian, on returning to his country from Italy,‡ praised the wine of that country so much, that a migration was instantly determined on. Finally, the tribes which settled in the plains of Verona, Brescia, and Mantua, may have passed by the Rhætian Alps, these being among the earliest frequented, according to the testimony of Polybius.§

There is another tribe,|| which is described by Polybius as having come from the other side of the Alps, and the country near the Rhone, at the desire of the Insubres and Boii, to assist them in their wars

* Liv. Epit. lib. lxi.

† Polyb. lib. ii. c. 17.

‡ Plin. lib. xii. c. 2.

§ Cluver. Ital. Antiq. p. 343, 344.

|| Polyb. lib. ii.

against the Romans ; and whose king Viridomarus was killed by Marcellus in single combat ; these are called Gæsatae by Polybius, who also informs us that they derived this name from their mercenary disposition.* He also clearly intimates, that Hannibal followed the same route which this people had taken to cross the Alps ;† so that if we can ascertain who these Gæsatae were, and from whence they came, we shall have another clue to guide us in our search. Now from the description given of this people by Polybius, in his second book, of their going to battle naked, their mercenary disposition and extreme ferocity, it appears they were not Gauls,‡ but Germans who had crossed the Rhine, and settled near the Rhone.§ The Roman inscription in the Capitol indeed expressly states them to have been Germans :

M. CLAUDIUS. M. F. M. N. MARCELLUS. AN. DXXXI.||
COS. DE GALLEIS INSUBRIBUS. ET GERMAN. K.
MART. ISQUE. SPOLIA. OPIMA RETULIT. DUCE HOS-
TIUM. VIRDUMARO. AD. CLASTIDIUM INTERFECTO.

* It is more probable, however, that they were so called from the gæsum or javelin which they used. See Voss. de vit. sermon.

† Polyb. lib. iii. c. 48.

‡ Cluv. Germ. Antiq. lib. i. c. 10.

§ The name of Gauls seems to have been at this time indiscriminately applied to all Barbarians, whether of Celtic or Teutonic origin.

|| Fasti Capitol. apud Grut.

Propertius also plainly denotes them to be Germans. *El. x. lib. 4.*

Claudius a Rheno trajectos arcuit hostes
 Bellica cui vasti parma relata ducis,
 Viridumari, genus hic Rheno jactabat ab ipso
 Nobilis e tectis fundere gæsa rotis.

We learn also from Cæsar,* that the Gauls themselves, as the Sequani and Arverni, had in early times adopted the practice of hiring German mercenaries to assist them in their wars. It seems even that they had acquired permanent settlements in Gaul. And we yet learn farther from Strabo,† that these very Germans were materially favoured and assisted in their incursions into Italy by the Sequani, without whom, he adds, they could have effected nothing. The information derived from this passage of Strabo is most valuable, as pointing out the route by which the Gæsatae must have penetrated into Italy. Proceeding from the country of the Sequani, they would cross the Rhone near the present Fort de l'Ecluse; the same road which the Helvetii undoubtedly wished to take when they were opposed and defeated by Cæsar;‡ their way would then lay directly through the Allobroges, by Chambery, to the valley of the

* Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. i. c. 31.

† Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. i. c. 44. Strabo, lib. iv. p. 293.

‡ Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. i. c. 4.

Isere,* and up that river to the Graian Alp or the Little St. Bernard.

A few observations yet remain to be made, on the history of this last passage. Whence it derived the name of the Graian Alp, must be left to conjecture, unless any credit be thought due to the fabulous story of Hercules' expedition: but it is not improbable, that the Celtic term, **Grau-Alp,†** may have been corrupted, and altered into a Latin form.

It is mentioned, I believe for the first time under that name, by Cornelius Nepos,‡ in the life of Hannibal, and our opinion derives no small support from his authority, seeing that he positively asserts this to have been the Carthaginian general's route. His account is clear, plain, and concise. "Ad Alpes posteaquam venit, quæ
"Italianam ab Galliâ sejungunt, quas nemo un-
"quam cum exercitu ante, præter Herculem
"Graium transierat, (quo facto is hodie saltus
"Graius appellatur,) Alpico conantes prohibere
"transitum concidit: loca patefecit, itinera muniit,
"effecitque ut eâ elephantus ornatus ire posset,

* Another road seems to have reached that valley from Geneva; it is marked in the Itineraries as branching off from *Conflans ad Publicanos* on the Isere, by *Casuaria* (*Ceserieux*), *Bautæ* (*Annecy*), to Geneva; this would perhaps be the most direct which the *Gæsatae* could take. See D'Anville, *Not. de l'Anc. Gaule*, p. 212—245. Antonin. Itiner. Wesseling. p. 347.

† Simler. *Comment. de Alp.* p. 243.

‡ Corn. Nep. *Vit. Hannib.* c. 22.

“quâ antea unus homo inermis vix poterat
“reperere.”

This passage, however, appears to have been more early known under the name of Cremonis jugum; and it is from Livy, that we obtain that and another valuable piece of information, relative to this mountain. That author, stating the different opinions that had been held respecting the passage by which Hannibal arrived in Italy, mentions that of Cœlius, who supposed him to have passed by the Cremonis* jugum; some, however, would read Centronis jugum, but whether we read Cremonis or Centronis jugum, it matters little, as the same mountain is meant in both cases: Livy telling us, that this pass led through the Salassi, into the country of the Gauls,† called Libui, or rather Libicii, who occupied Vercellæ, (Vercel,) Laumellum, (Lomello,) and Ticinum (Pavia).

The authority of Cœlius Antipater, who lived in the time of the Gracchi, about 625 U. C. less than a century after Hannibal's expedition, not only confirms the idea, that the passage of the little St. Bernard was frequented in his time, but tends

* It is worthy of notice, that the chain which forms the north side of this passage, and connects the Little St. Bernard with the great chain of Mont Blanc, is now called the Cramont. See De Saussure's *Voyages dans les Alpes*, for a description of this mountain.

† Polyb. lib. ii. c. 17. Plin. lib. iii. c. 17. Cluver. *Ital. Antiq.* p. 233.

also materially to prove, that this was Hannibal's route; since his character for veracity,* though nothing now remains of his writings, is established by ample and unquestionable testimony.† Brutus, indeed, esteemed his history of the second Punic war, so much, that he abridged it,‡ as he is said to have done that of Polybius also; and Cicero, though he considered his style as rough and unpolished, always praises him for his adherence to truth,§ and would have other writers learn accuracy from his example.||

In the time of Augustus, when a more extensive and active communication with the several parts of so vast an empire became necessary, we find that emperor, among other passages through the Alps which he laid open, or rendered more easy of access, constructing two regular ways over the Pennine and Graian Alps;¶ the one leading from Milan to Lyons, the other from the same city to Vienne, formerly the capital of the Allobroges. Strabo, however, makes them both terminate at Lyons, and thus describes them: "Of the passes

* Val. Max. lib. i. c. 7. † Cic. de Orat.

‡ Cic. ad Att. lib. xiii. ep. 8. § Cic. de Leg. lib. i.

|| For a further account of Cælius Antipater, see Voss. de Hist. Lat. lib. i. c. 8. Harles, Hist. Ling. Lat. i. 273. See also Cicero de Divin. on the subject of Silenus, a Greek historian, whom Cælius followed.

¶ Strabo, lib. iv. p. 318. Bergier, Hist. des G. Chemins de l'Emp. Rom. p. 104—441.

“which lead from Italy into Gaul, and the north
“country, one leads through the country of the
“Salassi, terminating at Lyons ; but this is two-
“fold, the one passable for carriages, but longer,
“through the Centrones ; the other steep, and
“narrow, over the Mons Penninus.” And in
another place he says, “The country of the
“Salassi,* lies chiefly in a deep valley, mountains
“closing it in on both sides ; it reaches also in
“some parts to the heights that overhang it. For
“those then who in crossing these mountains,
“their road lies through the valley we have des-
“cribed. It then branches off, in one direction
“crossing over the Mons Penninus and the sum-
“mit of the Alps, but this is not passable for
“carriages ; the other through the country of the
“Centrones is less steep.”

When Strabo says, that the road to Lyons by the Pennine Alp, is shorter than by the Graian, he must be understood to mean, that the extent of mountainous country which it traverses is less ; otherwise this statement is inadmissible. It is also clear from Strabo's account, that these passes were

* The Salassi resisted the Romans for a long time ; though attacked as early as the year 609 U. C. they were not finally subdued till the reign of Augustus. They were contiguous to the Centrones to the north, and the Libicii to the south ; their chief towns were Augusta Prætoria (Aoste), a colony founded by Augustus, and Eporedia, now Ivrea. Strabo, lib. iv. Liv. Epit. lib. liii. Oros. v. 4.

known and frequented before the works, which Augustus caused to be executed there, had been undertaken.

Having shewn that the passage of the Little St. Bernard was known from the earliest time, that it was the most central with respect to Gaul, and as, in consequence of its affording the most obvious and easy communication between that country and Insubria, from the extensive and fertile valleys which it connects, both reason and probability concur in pointing it out as that by which Hannibal's guides would conduct him, we shall now proceed to shew that Polybius's narrative and description agree with the hypothesis here brought forward, and which we are about to maintain.

CHAP. II.

MARCH OF THE ARMY FROM SPAIN TO THE RHONE. PASSAGE OF THAT RIVER.

IT has been shewn in the last chapter, and in the preface, that we meant to be guided entirely by Polybius in this investigation ; and before we enter upon the march itself across the Alps, it may be right to relate summarily the circumstances which preceded the arrival of the army on the banks of the Rhone, as stated by that author.

He * begins his thirty-fourth chapter by saying, that Hannibal awaited at Carthagera the arrival of certain emissaries, whom he expected from the Gauls ; and it is observable, that from the circumstance of his mentioning the war in which this people had been engaged with the Romans, we can learn that the envoys whom he expected were to be sent by the Boii and Insubrians. For in the second book, he uniformly mentions these two nations as the chiefs of the confederacy against the Roman arms, and the war in which they are engaged is concluded by the capture of Milan.†

* Polyb. lib. iii. c. 34.

† Polyb. lib. ii. c. 34.

It is important thus early to observe upon this fact, in order to shew, that the object of Hannibal being to descend at first from the Alps amongst his allies, he would necessarily take a more northerly passage over the Alps than he would have pursued on his arrival at the Rhone, if the more southerly one of the Maritime Alps, or the Mont Genevre (Alpis Cottia) had been equally convenient for him.

It requires indeed some strong reasons to account for his turning directly to the northward after he crossed the Rhone; for there can be no doubt that these two last mentioned passages were much nearer than the one which it is our intention to shew that he actually did take.

Now the situation of the Insubrians is well known, as we find from Polybius that they possessed great part of the country to the north of the Po;* and as Milan was their capital, and the nation was a very powerful one, we may conclude that they reached nearly to the foot of the Alps both on the north and west. Polybius mentions the Laii and Lebecii as being settled near the sources of the Po, after whom come the Insubres, that is, at the spot where the river, instead of running from S. to N., turns to the eastward, which is at Chivasso. The Boii, according to Polybius, were situated to the S. E. of the Insubrians, and to the south of the

* Polyb. lib. ii. c. 17.

Po, though Pliny states them to have founded Lodi.*

The report of the envoys on their arrival being very favourable, Hannibal declared to the army his intention of marching into Italy, and appointed a day for his departure. Finally, having arranged his affairs in Spain, he crossed the Pyrenees with 50,000 infantry, and 9000 cavalry.† The distances which he had to accomplish, and by which we are above all to be guided, are laid down in the thirty-ninth chapter; the intermediate ones do not contain any thing material to our purpose.

Stadia.

From Emporium (Ampurias) to the passage of the Rhone 1600

From the Rhone, πορευομένοις παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς, for those who are travelling along the river in the direction of its source‡ to the ascent of the Alps.§ . . . 1400

The Alps themselves 1200

With respect to the first part of this journey, that from Emporium to the Rhone, Polybius ob-

* Vide D'Anville, Notice de la Gaule, Art. Insubres.

† C. 35.

‡ This remark is of importance, inasmuch as it goes far to prove, that the army marched constantly along the Rhone till it reached the Alps, and did not, according to the hypothesis of many modern writers, turn off to ascend the Isere.

§ Lib. iii. c. 39.

serves that he is correct in his reckoning, because the Romans have carefully measured and marked it at every 8 stadia. It is evident from this, that he wishes us to understand that the army marched along that track which was afterwards the great Roman road from Emporium to Nimes. This road, according to D'Anville, crossed the Pyrenees at Bellegarde, and turning to the right to Elne (Illiberis) passed through Perpignan, Narbonne, Beziers, a little to the north of Montpellier, Pont d'Ambrois, and Nimes, varying very little from the present great road. At Nimes (Nemausus) the Roman road divided into two parts, of which one went southerly to Arles, and the other east to Tarascon. M. De Luc conceives the army to have marched N. E. from Nimes, and to have arrived at the Rhone, and effected their passage a little above the town of Roquemaure, on a spot where, according to M. Martin de Bagnols, a very ancient passage of the river called L'Ardoise formerly existed.* The Comte Fortia d'Urban, who has

* M. Martin de Bagnol, in a memoir inserted in the *Travaux de l'Académie du Gard*, 1811, fixes the spot, from personal observations, a league above Roquemaure; in this he agrees perfectly with M. De Luc, who had not, however, seen Mr. M's work when he decided upon the same spot. In the march from the passage of the Rhone to his arrival at the Isere, Hannibal proceeded at the rate of 20 miles a day, but he had only his cavalry and elephants with him. Vegetius seems to state the Roman day's march at 20 miles, the modern average is 14 or 15.—*De Re Militari*, c. 9.

lately published a small tract upon this subject, agrees with M. De Luc, and cites D'Anville and Rollin, together with M. de Mandajors, in support of his opinion. Various other authorities might be quoted, but it will be more satisfactory to mention M. De Luc's principal arguments, which appear to be conclusive on the subject.

In the first place, then, the situation is pointed out with great exactness by its distance from the *νησος*, or Insula Allobrogum, which is formed by the Isere and the Rhone.

From the passage of the Rhone to the arrival of the army at the *νησος*, Polybius reckons 75 miles, for the whole distance to the foot of the Alps from the passage of the river being 1400 stadia or 175 miles, and the march along the river after entering the *νησος*, being 100,* there remain 75 between the passage and the Isere. Now Roquemaure is at precisely that distance from Port l'Isere. Again, it is pointed out by the distance from the sea, which Polybius calls four days' march.† Supposing a day's march to be fixed at 15 miles, which is a fair average, (for although we shall find that the Carthaginian army did not generally exceed 12 miles a day, yet an army unincumbered with baggage would be fully able to perform 15,) this would give us a distance of 60 miles to the sea. From Roquemaure to the present eastern mouth of the

* C. 49.

† C. 42.

Rhone, along the river, there are 64 miles, and it is supposed that the land has gained considerably on the sea in this quarter. M. De Luc on this account has looked for some high spot close to the sea, which might be taken as a permanent land mark, and this he thinks he has found in the village of Foz, a little to the east of the eastern mouth of the river. This village stands upon the first rising ground that bounds the great extent of flat country in the immediate vicinity of the mouths of the Rhone, all which country has been at some time or other overflowed. The mouths themselves have evidently varied considerably, and therefore M. De Luc is justified in fixing upon the first eminence out of the influence either of the river or of the sea. From Foz to Roquemaure the distance is not quite 60 miles ; and it is observable that Polybius uses the word $\sigma\chi\epsilon\delta\delta\nu$, almost four days' march. Such is M. De Luc's opinion, and it is entitled to great weight; but D'Anville,* in two very elaborate articles on the mouths of the Rhone, looks upon Foz as the extremity of the Fossa Mariana, a canal made by Marius to avoid the difficulties which ships generally experienced at the neighbouring mouth of the river, from the accumulation of mud and sand.

The eastern mouth is, according to the Itine-

* D'Anville, Notice de la Gaule, Art. Fossa Mariana, and Ost. Rhodani.

raries, 16 miles to the west of Foz, and 30 miles from Arles; from that town to Roquemaure in a straight line there are hardly 30 miles, but if you follow the river there are about 35. This would make rather more than the four days' march at 15 miles a day: but Polybius in mentioning that distance speaks loosely; and as the 75 miles from the Isere is a definite number, we may be guided absolutely by that, and be content with finding, which we do both by M. De Luc and by D'Anville, that Roquemaure is about four days' march from the sea. If we measure in a straight line the distance, we have about 54 miles, and these distances prove at least that no objection can be made to Roquemaure on account of its not fulfilling the condition of the passage being four days' march from the sea.

But another circumstance which tends to fix the passage at this place, is that of the river flowing here in a single stream; the expression of Polybius is ἀπλῇ ῥύσιν. Now the Rhone flows in this manner, uninterrupted by islands from Caderousse to Roquemaure, a distance of nearly a league; and, with the exception of a similar stream immediately below the island at Roquemaure, though for a much shorter distance, this circumstance does not occur for many miles up or down the river.

Again, the situation tallies also extremely well with the determination that Hannibal had taken, of leaving the sea behind him, and marching along

the Rhone as if he was going to its source. For a little above Roquemaure the river makes a bend to the eastward, and directly crosses the line of march from Nimes to the sources of the Rhone ; supposing that he marched directly to the source. And had he crossed the river below its junction with the Durance, he would have thrown himself far too much to the southward, and would have had that river to cross after his passage of the Rhone. Its liability to inundation, and the great breadth and instability of its bed, would have added considerably to his difficulties.* It is easy too to understand, how the convenience of having a single stream to cross instead of one intersected by islands, would influence the choice of the spot in question in preference to any other. There is certainly a long tract of single stream in the river, after its junction with the Durance ; but we have already given sufficient reasons for his not crossing below that point.

Finally, the distance from Emporium to Roquemaure agrees almost exactly with the 200 miles or

* Comte Fortia d'Urban, who agrees with M. De Luc on this point, lays much stress upon the existence of an old town called Courtheson, immediately opposite to Roquemaure, and upon the high road from Avignon to Lyons. " Courtheson dont le nom est à-peu-près le même que le nom Grec de Carthage. " Il est vraisemblable qu'il (*Annibal*) y séjourna, et que c'est ce " qui a valu cette dénomination à cette ancienne ville." This, however, is somewhat fanciful.

1600 stadia which are reckoned by Polybius between the first of these points and the passage of the river. For according to the Itineraries there are 176 miles from Emporium to Nîmes,* and 28 in a straight line from Nîmes to Roquemaure, making a total of 204, which is as close an approximation as we can reasonably expect to find. We are confirmed in this opinion, by the authority of Bonaparte, who in his memoirs, vol. 2. p. 151, places the passage near Orange, below the Ardèche, and above the Durance.

We have been particular in fixing the exact spot of the passage of the river, as it is from thence that the succeeding calculations will be made, and having once obtained an accurate point, we shall have little difficulty in proceeding. The manner in which the passage itself was effected will be seen at large in Polybius,† and the description is so admirably given, that it would be impossible to retain the spirit of it in an abridgment. M. De Luc places the island where Hanno passed with his detachment a little above the Pont St. Esprit, and opposite the village of La Palud, 25 miles from Roquemaure. The Rhone however is so full of islands above Caderousse, that it is difficult to fix on the precise spot, nor is it indeed material.

It was on the fifth day from their arrival at the Rhone that the army (with the exception of the

* Vide Appendix.

† Polyb. lib. iii. c. 43.

elephants) passed over, and on the sixth Hannibal dispatched 500 Numidian horse towards the mouth of the river, in order to obtain some information respecting the Roman army. On the same day Magilus and the other chiefs of the country about the Po were introduced to the army, and the final intentions of the general were declared: and in the evening of the same day the Numidians returned, pursued by the Roman cavalry, who after examining the camp, went back in all haste to Publius. On the seventh day the infantry were ordered on their march up the Rhone, and the same day, and probably the succeeding one, were employed in bringing over the elephants. On the ninth day Hannibal himself followed the infantry with the cavalry and elephants, and in three days after his departure the Roman consul arrived at the place from whence he had set out. This allows six days for the return of the Roman cavalry with the account of the passage of the river by the Carthaginians, and for Publius's own march after receiving the information. It is expressly stated by Polybius,* that he (Publius) as well as his cavalry made all possible haste, which will account for doing in six days the work of eight. We shall proceed in the next chapter to examine the road taken from the passage of the river to the foot of the Alps.

* C. 45.

CHAP. III.

MARCH FROM THE PLACE WHERE THE ARMY PASSED
THE RHONE TO THE FOOT OF THE ALPS. DESCRIPTION
OF THE ISLAND.

HAVING ascertained in the preceding chapter the place where Hannibal crossed the Rhone, we shall begin the present with an abstract of the march from the passage to the foot of the Alps, as related by Polybius.* He led his army from the sea along the river towards its source ; and having marched for four days, he came to a country called the νῆσος or island, formed by the Rhone and the Isere on two sides, and the Alps, which are almost inaccessible, on the third ; for this country is very similar both in shape and size to the Delta in Egypt. Here he found two brothers contending for the sovereignty of the country, and having joined the eldest, and placed him in possession of the throne, he proceeded along the river 800 stadia, (100 miles,) in ten days, and arrived at the very foot of the Alps. During this time, the brother whom he had assisted was of the greatest use to him in

* L. 3. c. 47. et. seq.

supplying the army with provisions, with shoes, and with arms, as well as in protecting the rear from the attacks of the Gauls, who were called the Allobroges; and while he traversed the flat country, these Allobroges, partly from fear of his own cavalry, and partly from fear of his escort, abstained from attacking him. When however his friends had left him, and he was arrived at the foot of the Alps, these barbarians occupied the heights and the passage, through which he must of necessity march, in great numbers, and compelled Hannibal to encamp in their front.

Such is the short statement of the proceedings of the army as far as the foot of the Alps, a distance of 1400 stadia, or 175 miles; and here we cannot possibly be mistaken in the direction that we are to take, and the road that we are to follow, as we are expressly told, that the march was *along the river*, *παρά τὸν ποταμὸν*, leaving the sea behind. It is important however here to remark upon an inaccuracy of Polybius with respect to the general course of the Rhone, from its source, to its junction with the sea.

It will be seen, on reference to the forty-seventh chapter, that he describes the river as keeping one uniform direction from N. E. to S. W. and that he makes no mention whatever of the angle formed at Lyons. Nor is this much to be wondered at, when we consider the ignorance of the ancients as to those parts of practical geography in which we

have made such progress, as well as their total want of instruments to assist them in the measurement of angles. From its source to its mouth, the river, if it flowed in a straight course, would certainly flow from N. E. to S. W. and with the exception of this error, it is clear from his description that our author must have been well acquainted with its general character. To return.

Having put himself at the head of the cavalry and elephants, Hannibal marched up the river for four successive days, till he arrived at the Island or νῆσος, a distance of 75 miles, (since from the Island to the Alps there are 100 miles,) and at the rate of nearly nineteen miles a day;* this average is much beyond the usual one, as will appear hereafter. The infantry had two days advance, and he joined them at the Isere, since it was there that he found the brothers. This would give twelve miles and a half a day for that part of the army, and as the baggage would be sent with them, the cavalry might perform nineteen miles without great difficulty, especially after the halt which had been made on the banks of the Rhone. The description of the island, at which the army arrived on the fourth day, is too clearly given to admit of any rational doubt, as to its situation;† for we are told that it was *very populous*, πολύοχος, and fertile in corn; similar

* C. 50. † C. 49.

in size, as well as figure, to the Delta, formed by the Rhone and Isere on two sides, and by inaccessible mountains on the third. In examining the *Island* on the map, we must bear in mind Polybius's previous account of the general direction of the Rhone, and if we omit the angle which it really forms at Lyons, we shall have an island nearly resembling the Delta both in size and form.*

The country is at present particularly well calculated for corn, and extremely populous. The comparison which Polybius draws between it and the Delta may be easily accounted for by his personal knowledge of the latter, from his having been employed in Egypt, during his father's embassy to Ptolemy Epiphanes. It is fortunate also for our purpose, that he should have been able to make use of so accurate an illustration, as the coincidence of size which he expressly mentions will prevent the possibility of any mistake, as to the actual position of the *Island* at which Hannibal arrived on the fourth day of his march. The mountains of which our author speaks, as inclosing the third side, begin at the northern extremity of the Lac du Bourget, and run in a southerly direction

* The length of the Delta from N. to S. is about 90 English miles, and its breadth, from Rosetta to Damietta, about 70. From Lyons to Port l'Isere there is a distance of about 70 miles, and the same along the river from Lyons to the Mont du Chat. From Port de l'Isere to Grenoble 60 miles, and from Yenne to Grenoble, in a straight line, 40 miles.

to the Guiers-vif, which they join between the Pont de Beauvoisin and the Echelles. From hence to the south they form a sort of bason, as will be seen by the map, running first S. E. to the Fort Barraux, and the opening of the valley of the Gresivaudan; then S. W. along that valley to Grenoble; thence N. W. to Voreppe and Voiron; and then North, joining the first chain at the Pont de Beauvoisin. Within this bason stands the convent of the Grande Chartreuse. This chain forms the first step or *lisière* of the Alps. It is divided at the Fort de Barraux by the Isere from the great ridge that runs from the Mount Cenis, along the Maurienne and the valley of the Arc. The Mont du Chat, or northern part of it, is not so high as the Jura; but to the south, and in the neighbourhood of the Grande Chartreuse, the height is much more considerable. The passages through this chain will be pointed out hereafter; it will here be sufficient to give a general idea of the island as it now appears. The waters flow for the most part from E. to W. and fall into the Rhone between Lyons and Port l'Isere; each stream flows in a flat valley, and the hills which separate them are very low, and towards the north the country is quite flat. After passing Bourgoin upon the high road from Lyons to Chambéry the features are bolder, and the hills rise more and more, till we arrive at the Guiers-vif, and the foot of the chain of mountains already referred to. The whole

country is extremely well cultivated, though subject to occasional inundations in the valleys, very populous, and, towards the eastern part, very picturesque, being well wooded, and some of the trees remarkably fine. It is extremely well calculated to support an army.

It may be proper to offer a few remarks, in this place, upon the opinion which has been generally adopted by some of the later French writers on this subject, that the army on arriving at the Isere did not cross that river, but marched up its left or southern bank as far as the mouth of the Arc, according to some, or as far as the mouth of the Drac, according to others. The reasons given for this movement are the difficulty of crossing the Isere at its mouth, and the total silence of Polybius upon so important an operation. But, however difficult it might have been to have crossed the river, I apprehend that infinitely greater difficulty would have been experienced in marching up its southern bank, as the defiles in the neighbourhood of Grenoble are so narrow, and the mountains of Dauphiny plunge so perpendicularly into the river, that it would be quite impossible to carry cavalry and elephants by that line. Again : Polybius, in his enumeration of distances, reckons 1400 stadia from the passage of the Rhone, *along the river*, to the ascent of the Alps, meaning of course along the same river, and not a different one. But there is another passage in the 47th chapter, which not only

confirms what has been already advanced, but which also appears to point out, in a remarkable manner, the exact spot where Hannibal began his first ascent of the Alps. Polybius, in this passage, after saying that the Alps take their rise near Marseilles, and stretch as far as the Adriatic Gulf, continues:—*ἀς τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἁρᾶς, Ἀννίβας ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν τόπων, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν*, “which mountains, Hannibal having crossed in the part where they touch upon the Rhone, entered Italy.”* This part of the Alps, with reference to the known passages, can only be at Martigny, at the foot of the Great St. Bernard, or at St. Genis d’Aouste, at the beginning of the Mont du Chat, and of the road leading to the Little St. Bernard; but the first of these passages, according to Strabo, was unknown to Polybius, and does not agree in any point with his description or with his distances, so that the opinion respecting the latter is proved almost to demonstration.

The manifest error, contained in some editions of Polybius, of *Ἀραρος*, instead of *Ἰσάρας*, has been corrected by Schweighæuser. In the older editions it is *Σκώρας*: and M. De Luc assures us,† that General Melville, when at Rome, consulted an ancient MS. of Polybius, in the Vatican, in which he found the

* Polybius uses in another place, *ἡ θαλασσα καθ’ ἡμᾶς*;—the sea that touches our coasts.

† De Luc, p. 71.

word *Ἰσάρα*. Polybius says, also, that the two rivers which flow from the Island, flow from different Alps; this agrees with the Rhone and the Isere, but not with the Saone, which does not take its rise in the Alps at all.* It is also worth notice, that in an old MS. of Livy, which M. de Mandajors saw at Trinity College, Cambridge, the word *Bisara* was written in the 21st book, chapter 31, in the passage which relates to this island, and where *Arar* is generally read. Through this country then we have to march 100 miles along the river, till we reach the foot of the Alps: and here a difficulty presents itself; for in keeping constantly on the banks of the river, the 100 miles would be expended at that part of the Rhone where the Bourbe on the S. and the Ain on the N. throw themselves into it, and where the country is entirely flat. We must, however, remember, that Polybius was ignorant of the angle made by the Rhone at Lyons; and we cannot help seeing, that a march conducted the whole way along the river from Port l'Isere to Yenne, where the Alps begin, would have caused the army to have gone over almost twice as much ground as they would have traversed if they had struck across the flat country of the Island, and avoided by that means the angle of Lyons. We must therefore take the expression of "along the river" in this place in an enlarged

* *Hist. de la Gaule Narbonnaise*, Paris 1733, p. 521.

sense, and suppose that the prince, who accompanied Hannibal, led him by the shortest road to the Alps. M. De Luc is of opinion, that they quitted the Rhone at Vienne, and rejoined it at St. Genis, on the spot where the Guiers-vif falls into it, and that they followed the road which was afterwards converted into a Roman one, that is, from Vienne to Bourgoin (Bergusium) and Augusta, now Aouste, to Etanna, now Yenne; and he is confirmed in this opinion, as the distance from Port de l'Isere by the Roman road to Vienne, and thence to Etanna, is 97 miles, and it is only at Etanna that we leave the Rhone altogether. Was Vienne, then, the capital of the country for which the brothers were contending? M. De Luc is of opinion, and I think with sufficient reason, that it was. Polybius gives us no data as to distances with respect to this capital; but the prince whom Hannibal assisted must have been master of no small territory, since he was able to supply the Carthaginian army with arms and provisions to such an extent.* Vienne, according to D'Anville, was one of the most considerable towns of the Allobroges. Strabo says, that the chief men of that nation having assembled there, had founded a city, the rest of the people being dispersed in the villages. Ptolemy also mentions this town as being the only considerable one among the

* Notice de la Gaule, art. Vienne.

Allobroges; and Polybius himself talks of the brothers as contending *ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας*, which implies a much higher command than the *κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμόνες*, whom he mentions afterwards on the arrival of the army at the foot of the Alps. General Melville was of opinion, that the army turned off at St. Rambert, and crossed the first chain of Alps at the Echelles, without ever rejoining the Rhone; but this march would not at all agree with the distances laid down by Polybius; while, by leaving the river at Vienne, and rejoining at St. Genis, we unite as much as possible the distances, and the march along the river, which would in any other manner be incompatible with each other. The situation of Vienne is extremely strong, being placed at an angle of the river, and protected by some heights, which almost entirely surround it. There are here abundance of Roman antiquities, an amphitheatre, a triumphal arch, and a temple, resembling the Maison Quarrée at Nimes. The old town was much more considerable than the modern one; extending itself on the plain on the western side of the river, and having a bridge across, which is now destroyed. It will be seen by the map, that the river makes a turn to the east before it arrives at Vienne and as there is a range of hills which prevent any road from following its banks to the north, it is probable, that the army would on this spot turn off to the east, and cross the flat country. Jean Chorier, who has

written on the antiquities of Vienne, which he calls the metropolis of the Allobroges, says, “ Les
“ Gaulois, dont les Allobroges étoient une illustre
“ partie, ont paru souvent avec honneur dans
“ les armées des Carthaginois, toujours composées
“ d'étrangers. Annibal et son frère Asdrubal
“ ayant pris leur route par l'Allobrogie, pour
“ passer en Italie, y firent de nouvelles levées.
“ Ils grossirent leurs armées et peut-être laissèrent
“ dans Vienne, qui étoit la Métropole de ce
“ peuple, quelques-uns de leurs Capitaines, pour
“ maintenir par leur présence la bonne intelli-
“ gence de cette nation avec la leur. Ce pays
“ étoit si connu des Carthaginois du tems même
“ d'Alexandre que le nom de Rhône fut imposé
“ par eux à Amilcar pour gratifier notre nation.*”
M. De Luc is of opinion, that the Roman road from Vienne to the Mont du Chat, was constructed by Domitius Ænobarbus, in the year of Rome 631. This fact, if proved, would be important, because it would suppose a previous road to have existed in the same direction ; but it does not appear certain that this was the exact road made after the Roman manner by Domitius, though it is very probable, for it was after his conquest of the Allobroges and

* In the *Guide de l'Empire* (an account of France, now in course of publication,) mention is made of a strong tradition at St. Vallier, that Hannibal passed through it on his march over the Alps.

the Arverni that it was made. Be that as it may, the distances authorize us to conclude, that the army marched in this direction ; and this opinion is confirmed, by a discovery which was made in the village of Passage, a little to the south of La Tour du Pin, and not above half a mile from the present great road from Lyons to Chambéry. In the year 1714, a farmer of that village struck his plough against a large piece of rock, under which he found, after much labour, a round plate of silver, twenty-seven inches in diameter. This was deposited in the King's Library at Paris, where it now is, and where we saw it in the autumn of the year 1819. The surface is fluted, except in the centre, where is represented a lion under a palm tree, below which, is the leg and hoof of a goat. The exact resemblance which the lion and palm tree bear to all acknowledged Carthaginian medals, together with the singularity of the engraving, which is not in lines or in relief, according to the Roman manner, but in little points, render it very probable that this plate was a votive tablet, placed in that spot either by Hannibal himself, or by some Carthaginian general, who followed him on that road with reinforcements, and who would follow his steps exactly ; for it is remarkable, that the army never appear to have been led out of their way, and although they were often attacked by the treachery of their guides, they never appear to have been deceived

or misled in the road itself. It will be seen, from the article on this subject inserted in the Appendix, that there was an old tradition in the country, that the name of Passage was derived from the march of the Carthaginians by that way. The situation of the village itself renders it not improbable that the tablet was deposited here as a votive offering. It stands on a long and high hill, from which you first discover the whole chain of Alps that close the *Island*. You come at once in sight of them, from their very base, and few views can be more striking, as they appear to oppose here an insurmountable obstacle to any further progress. If Hannibal came by this road, it would be on this spot that he would first have his full and complete view of the barriers of Italy; and as Polybius has said once or twice, that he was accustomed to sacrifice on great occasions, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he would do so here. The Roman road from Vienne to Chambery passed through Lavisco: now, supposing Lavisco to be Chevelu, (a village at the foot of the Mont du Chat,) a fact which the relative distances from Chambery and Aoste will sufficiently prove, we shall have ninety-eight miles from Port de l'Isere to Chevelu at the entrance of the passage over the Mont du Chat. This distance agrees as well with Polybius as it is possible to wish, and we may encamp the army between that village and the others, at the foot of the moun-

tain, at the end of the tenth day from the passage of the Isere, and the fourteenth from Hannibal's leaving the place where he had passed the Rhone.

M. De Luc, whose general accuracy and research cannot be too much praised, has fallen into an error in conducting the army from St. Genis along the banks of the Rhone by La Balme to Yenne.* This has been caused by his not having himself examined the ground, and from his supposing that the Roman road to Chambery from Aouste passed through Etanna or Yenne, whereas that road left Etanna to the left, and passed through Lavisco. There was however a road passing through Yenne which led from Aouste to Geneva. On our arrival at St. Genis, we followed M. De Luc's road along the river to La Balme; up to this place, though very closely pressed by a high hill on the right, the passage might be practicable; but at La Balme the river is confined on both sides between two high rocks, which continue nearly to Yenne, and though the road is now very practicable, having been made in modern times with gunpowder, it would have been quite impossible to have passed that way formerly. It became therefore necessary to look for another passage; and we were convinced, upon inquiry and from observation, that the old road had passed by St. Maurice, at the back of the hill which flanks the modern road close to the river.

* De Luc, p. 76.

This way by St. Maurice is now not much frequented, as it is very hilly, and intersected by several torrents, which (as the soil is extremely soft) have worn themselves deep beds, which increase every year. The torrents are all parallel to the chain of the Mont du Chat, and fall into the Rhone at Yenne. The passage of that river, between two almost perpendicular rocks, of great height, for a distance of about two miles from La Balme to Yenne, is very magnificent. On the French side is a fort called Pierre Chatel, from which the view is beautiful, as it commands the river to a great extent.

The Prince of the Allobroges, who accompanied the army, probably left them at Aouste, where the Guiers-vif falls into the Rhone, and where the flat country of the Island ends : for Polybius seems to confine his attendance to the plains ; so that from hence they were to proceed, accompanied only by those guides from the plains of the Po, who had crossed the mountains in order to ask for their assistance, and by such others as they might obtain in the country, or who had perhaps been left with them by the Prince, when he returned to his own territories. With these guides the army proceeded to the passage of Mont du Chat. In the next chapter we shall give an account of the different passages which lead out of the Island over those mountains which form, according to Polybius, the third side of it, and shall conclude the present

one with some extracts from notes taken on the spot.

August 19, 1819. From Vienne to Bourgoin the road runs along a broad valley with low flat hills, a raised causeway, probably the remains of the Roman way. At Septeme, (ad Septimum,) 7 miles from Vienne, country quite open; pass Otier (Octavum) to Dieme, (Decimum,) very well cultivated, clover, corn, fine walnut trees, lucerne, turnips, full of farm houses; before Bourgoin, small round hills of sand stone. To the north, high hills, under which the Rhone runs, so that its course is very visible. At Bourgoin, join the great road from Lyons to Chambery, to Tour du Pin. Passage, on the right, from hence a magnificent view of the Alps, shutting in the *νησος*. To Aouste, country bolder, hills more prolonged; at Aouste, (Augusta Allobrogum,) several Roman remains. The Guiers-vif runs through it, and divides France from Savoy. The hills on the other side of the Rhone, which is about half a mile from Aouste, very high; from Aouste cross the Guiers-vif to St. Genis; from hence two roads to Yenne; one close to the river, a good and modern one; the other by St. Maurice, at the back of the hills which confine the other. The Austrians, in coming from Savoy into France in 1815, took the latter, as the French commanded the modern road from Pierre Chatel. Yenne in a small plain, very rich; Rhone flowing close to

it. The old Yenne, or Etanna, now destroyed, about a mile E. S. E. from it. Several Roman remains here, and a beautiful view of the Rhone and surrounding country. The Mont du Chat passage, E. by N. very high.

CHAP. IV.

ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT PASSAGES OVER THE MOUNTAINS WHICH INCLOSE THE ISLAND. MONT DU CHAT DESCRIBED—PASSAGE OF THE ARMY OVER IT, AND ARRIVAL IN THE PLAIN OF CHAMBERY.

WE are to begin this chapter with an examination of the passages from the Island over the first chain of the Alps, in order to shew that we are justified in taking the army by the Mont du Chat;* which, although not absolutely the shortest way, was certainly the earliest as well as the most frequented. The passages at the present day are, first, by Moirans to Voreppe and Grenoble, and thence up the Isere, by the valley of the Gresivaudan, to Montmeillan: second, the great post road from the Pont de Beauvoisin, by Les Echelles, to Chambéry: third, the road of Aiguebellette,

* While the description which Polybius gives of the chain of mountains, which closed the third side of the *νῆσος*, agrees admirably with the rugged barrier that extends from Grenoble to the Rhone, the expression *σχιδόν, ὡς ἀκτὴν, ἀπερόιστα*, evidently points out a passage through it. Lib. iii. c. 49.

which passes through that place, to the south of the lake of that name, to Chambery : fourth, the passage of the Mont de l'Epine, by Novales, which runs under the end of the highest crest of the Mont du Chat, and leads equally to Chambery : and, lastly, the passage of the Mont du Chat itself. By one of these it was necessary that Hannibal should pass, for if he had gone over the Rhone to the north, Polybius would have stated it ; and such a step would have carried him entirely out of his way, and thrown him into that most mountainous and difficult country above Belley ; if he had not crossed the Rhone, but continued along its banks, he would have been equally too much to the north, and entangled in the country round Annecy, across which no road exists from west to east. I return, therefore, to the five passages above mentioned ; and of these the one to the southward, although a Roman road, could not have been the one alluded to by Polybius, since if the army had intended to have taken this way, they would certainly not have marched 100 miles along the Rhone, but would have kept by the side of the Isere.* The passage of the Echelles was only made in 1670, by Charles Emanuel, the second Duke of Savoy ; and before his time it was passed by ladders, and is conse-

* The rocks also on the northern bank of the Isere came formerly so close to the river, that it would have been impossible to have turned them, so that the troops must have crossed the river, which is there very deep.

quently out of the question.* The two next, by Aiguebellette and Novalese, pass directly over the crest of the mountains; they are very seldom used, and are only practicable for mules, being very little more than footpaths; the southern one, by Aiguebellette, comes from the Pont de Beauvoisin, and is therefore hardly near enough to the Rhone; but the Novalese road begins at St. Genis, and so fulfils that condition. It does not, however, approach so near to the distance of 800 stadia as the road by the Mont du Chat, since it is about 10 miles nearer. Now though D'Anville,† in his *Notice de la Gaule*, article *Lavisco*, calls this road by Novalese, the Roman road from Aouste to Chambery, yet he was certainly mistaken in this particular. From the article in question it is evident that he was ignorant of the existence of the passage by the Mont du Chat; for in treating of *Lavisco* itself, which, in the *Itineraries*, is placed, according to his own account, at 14 miles from *Augusta Allobrogum*, (*Aouste*), and 14 from *Lemincum*, (*Chambery*), altogether 28 miles from *Aouste* to *Chambery*, he is very much at a loss where to place it. The distance by the only road with which he was acquainted, that of Novalese,

* This road has been since very much improved by cutting a gallery through the rock, which formerly closed the passage; the work was begun by Bonaparte, and finished by the late King of Sardinia.

† D'Anville, *Gaule*, art. *Lavisco*.

being not more than 17 miles instead of 28, he is reduced to the necessity of supposing an error in the Itineraries, and instead of 14 miles, to read 8, i. e. a V for an X. But if we go by the Mont du Chat, there is no necessity to alter the Itineraries at all, for by this road the distance from Chambery to Aouste, will be as nearly as possible 28 miles, and the village of Chevelu, at the western foot of the pass, will be equidistant from both places. The distance from each place to Chevelu was, as nearly as we could judge from the time employed in performing it, 14 miles, and there are some very old remains at Chevelu which appear to be Roman buildings.

From the Itineraries alone then, unsupported by any other circumstances, we may fairly conclude, that the fifth and last passage, that by the Mont du Chat, was the Roman road; but this opinion will be very much strengthened by an account of the present state of the road itself. The Mont du Chat extends almost directly north from the Mont de l'Epine at its southern extremity, about 6 miles to the passage in question; beyond this passage it runs still to the north for about 5 miles more, to the channel by which the waters of the Lac du Bourget are discharged into the Rhone. It is impossible to turn the mountain at this end, because it falls so perpendicularly into the Lake, that from Haute-combe to Bordeaux there is not a footpath, and one cannot even land upon it from a boat. To a person

standing in the plain below this chain, at Yenne for instance, the Chevelu passage appears to be the only one by which the mountain can be crossed, for the intermediate part between Chevelu and the Mont de l'Epine is very high, and so perpendicular, as to be quite inaccessible. The Mont de l'Epine itself appears very rugged, and difficult of access, consisting of a great assemblage of naked rocks, forming altogether a pass of great breadth, which it would be the object of an invading army to avoid. The Chevelu pass, on the other hand, being much lower than any other part of the mountain, presents every appearance of facility; it bends inwards to the east in a half circle, and the road rises very gradually to the top: a small stream, which rises out of a little lake about half way up the mountain, runs very slowly down its side, and all the features of the place agree with the expression used by Polybius of *εὐκαιροὶ τόποι*, through which alone the army could pass. From the village of Chevelu, which is at the foot of the steepest part of the ascent of the mountain, it is about two miles to the top. On leaving Chevelu we find the remains of a fort; on the left, after this, the ascent is steeper. On the top of the mountain is a flat of about 300 yards. The passage is divided into two parts by an immense rock of about 200 yards in length, and nearly half that space in breadth; the great road runs to the S. of it, the rock standing E. and W. and a smaller road from some other villages runs on

the N. side, and joins the great road at the descent on the Lake of Bourget. The great road itself is by no means bad, and we passed it easily in a char drawn by two horses. The Austrians passed over it in force in 1815 with baggage and artillery. The road on the top is covered with stones, which have formed part of a temple that stood here, and of which the foundation still exists, and is very easily traced. The stones are well cut, many cornices being perfect, and we found the inscription which has given rise to the idea that the temple was dedicated to Mercury. From the summit the view is very fine. The Lac du Bourget is at your feet, and the rich valley in which Chambéry stands, together with the magnificent chain of mountains that inclose the Isere. Lyons itself may be seen from the summit of the Mont du Chat, which is however considerably higher than the passage. The great breadth of the road, the facility of the pass, the agreement of the position of Chevelu with the Lavisco of the Itineraries, and, above all, the temple, sufficiently prove this to be the Roman way; and if this pass were not in almost every way preferable to that by the Mont de l'Epine and Novalesse, why should these latter roads be still nothing but mule tracks, when they certainly are much shorter than the former? The truth is, that the Chevelu passage is pointed out at once to the most superficial observer, by the extreme facility of its ascent; while the others, from their great difficulty,

have been always looked upon as almost impracticable. If then it be clearly established, that the Chevelu pass was the Roman way, and since it continued to be the great road into Savoy till the opening of the passage of the Echelles, we may fairly infer that it was the best and easiest, and therefore the fittest, for the Carthaginian army to take: especially if we find it agree, as it does in almost every particular, with the description of the passage by which they actually did penetrate, as given by Polybius; and for the purpose of establishing this agreement, it will now be necessary to return to our author.

We have said that the temple on the summit of the passage of the Mont du Chat was reported to be dedicated to Mercury. But the inscription itself hardly bears out this opinion. M. Albanis de Beaumont, in his description des Alpes Grecques, calls this mountain the Mons Thuates, but without giving his authority. Now Theut and Thait in Armorica are the names of the deity who presided over highways,* and who was much worshipped by the Gauls; hence Cæsar says, that the people principally worshipped Mercury, who had the same office among the Roman deities. The name therefore of Mons Thuates would argue a passage here of very high antiquity, and the temple,

* Otho, de Diis Vialibus, c. iv. p. 57, and Camden, p. 12. Cæsar, de Bello Gallico, lib. 6.

if really dedicated to Mercury, would tend strongly to the confirmation of this opinion. Let us now see how the passage agrees with the account given by Polybius. We left off our abstract of his account at the place where Hannibal,* finding the passage occupied by the Allobroges, encamped at the foot of it. We are told, that, finding from his spies that the enemy abandoned their position in the night, and only returned to it in the morning, he occupied the pass during the night with his light troops, so that he was able to carry the rest of the army through, in the morning, as the Allobroges when they saw his position abstained from attacking him. When, however, they saw the extreme difficulty with which the cavalry and beasts of burden extricated themselves from the bad road, they began an assault upon them, and that with so much success, that Hannibal was himself obliged to go to their assistance with his best troops. As he charged them from above, he succeeded at length in dispersing them, and immediately proceeded with all the men that he could collect to attack their chief town, which he took by assault, as the inhabitants had joined the Allobroges. Here he found great abundance of horses and beasts of burden, as well as a supply of corn and cattle fully sufficient for two or three days. So far Polybius : and it will be seen, on reference to the plan of the

* C. 51.

passage, that the rock which we have already described, and which stands in the middle of the pass, would, if occupied by troops, render it impossible for an attacking force to penetrate at all, and would most effectually secure the passage, especially as, from the steepness of the sides of the rock, it would be almost impossible to dislodge the occupants. This rock, as well perhaps as the higher part of the Mont du Chat itself on the S. of the pass, was in all probability the position occupied by the Allobroges first, and by Hannibal afterwards. It is worthy of observation, that Polybius uses the words *τὰ στενὰ* when speaking of the position taken up by the light troops at night, but he invariably applies the term *δορυχωρίαι* to the road which the army were obliged to take on emerging from the pass itself, and during the attack of the Allobroges on the baggage and cavalry. It is perhaps too much to suppose that these phrases were intentionally so applied, and yet if not intentional, they furnish a singular instance of apt though accidental illustration of the road itself. For as soon as it quits the actual passage through the mountain, it descends in zigzags upon the village of Bourdeaux and the lake of Bourget, and in this part the mountain is extremely steep, rocky, and precipitous. From hence to the village of Bourget, a distance of about four miles and a half, the mountain slopes gradually downwards from its top, to within about 200 yards of the lake ; after which it becomes exceedingly rocky, and in many

places plunges perpendicularly into its waters. The modern road runs at the foot of the slope, which is itself so steep, as to make it very difficult of ascent. Upon this slope the Barbarians would naturally station themselves, and the Carthaginian light troops might move along the top of it, when they saw the baggage in danger, and so charge down upon them. Polybius says positively, that the road was *τραχέα* and *κρημνώδης*, and that the horses were carried down precipices ; and this is exactly what would happen at this passage, under similar circumstances. At Bourget, which is a town of some size and antiquity, the road quits the mountain, and crosses over a very rich plain to Chambéry, about seven miles distant.* The fighting would continue till the troops reached the plain ; and it is not too much to suppose that Hannibal was able to reach the town with ease before night, especially as no resistance was offered. The great quantity of supplies which the army found in this town supposes the existence of a most fertile country ; and certainly no place at the entrance of the Alps, with the exception perhaps of Grenoble, is so well qualified for maintaining a large army as Chambéry. There is, however, a difficulty with respect to this

* Chambéry is the Lemincum of the Romans. The little village of Lemenc, which stands close to it, leaves no doubt upon this point ; it is situated in the middle of a very rich plain which is covered with villages and houses.

town as to its distance from the Mont du Chat, which it is right to mention. Polybius says, that the Allobroges retired every night from the pass to a town in the neighbourhood, and returned in the morning, and it appears from the text, that the town which Hannibal took by assault, was the same to which they were accustomed to retire. Now although he might very easily, after the battle, march as far as Chambery, it can hardly be supposed that the Barbarians should go so far every night and morning, especially as it was important that they should be at their posts early and late : M. de Luc has not noticed this difficulty, but it certainly is of great importance. There is a village called Vieux Chambery, a mile and a half nearer to Bourget than the modern town ; but even that will not be near enough for our purpose. It is possible that Bourget itself might be the town in question, for it is even now a large place ; and this is rendered more probable by our knowledge, that the modern Chambery is not the Roman town, that being Lemenc, close to it. There is also Vieux Chambery, and other villages, between Bourget and Lemenc. For the protection of the passage of the Mont du Chat, Bourget is much more favourably situated, and it would have had all the advantages of the plain of Chambery for its supplies as a town, as well as all the advantages of its present situation for defence. From Bourget, the Allobroges could with the greatest ease have gone in the morning to

the pass itself, and returned again at night. From all these considerations, it is probable that Bourget was the town in question. And here the army after its capture encamped for one day. If Chambery was decidedly the town mentioned by Polybius, it would furnish an argument in favour of the passage of the army by Novalesse and the Mont de l'Epine; for the distance from the top of that passage to Chambery is not more than four miles, but the descent of the mountain on that side is not at all precipitous; and as the road goes over the ridge of the mountain, and comes down directly upon the plain, there would have been no opportunity for the Allobroges to have attacked the army on their descent, while on the Mont du Chat road their flank was constantly exposed. The general character of the Mont du Chat is extremely perpendicular and difficult on the French or west face of it, and more easy of ascent and sloping on the E. or Savoy side; it is cultivated on the latter, but not at all on the former, and it forms altogether a very striking feature in the country: as from the passage at Chevelu to the Mont de l'Epine there is a long straight naked ridge, of immense height, like a great screen, when it is viewed from Dauphiny: an appearance altogether so remarkable, that it cannot be mistaken. Supposing then Bourget to be the town of the Allobroges, we shall conclude this chapter with the arrival of the army in this place.

The side of the mountain, immediately above the lake of Bourget, is covered with very fine and large old chesnut trees ; further on there are vines. The lake is here of great depth, and is very beautiful. We were seven hours in going from Yenne to Chambéry, in a char with two horses, but we stopped for some time on the top of the passage.

A thorough examination of the passages across the chain of mountains, which close in the *Island* on the east, since the publication of our first edition, has given rise to a few additional remarks which may be inserted here. Our first attention was directed to ascertain the correctness of General Melville, who was of opinion that the army passed by a path a little to the N. of the great road of Les Echelles ; on this point the General was certainly mistaken, as no road or path exists which actually crosses the mountain. There is a road which runs to the north of the passage of La Grotte, but it does not cross the mountain, and keeps constantly to the west of the chain, till it reaches Aiguebellette : it is little more than a mountain pass. With respect to the passages of Aiguebellette and l'Epine, the latter is absolutely impracticable for an army, the former is perhaps more easy, as it passes through a part of the chain which is lower than any other, except the passage of the Mont du Chat. The ascent to it from the western side is, however, very steep, and the road is now very little used. M. Albanis de Beaumont in his work on the Graian and Cottian

Alps, enters into great details on this part of Savoy which is very little known, and which is well worth visiting. He gives copies of numerous inscriptions dedicated to Mercury, found on the Mont du Chat ; and it must be stated, in justice to him, that he had supposed the Carthaginians to have taken that road, some years before M. de Luc's work appeared. We shall have occasion hereafter to examine his opinions upon the passage of the central chain of the Alps in another place. M. Beaumont* is rather undecided as to the position of Lavisco, but we have found nothing to induce us to alter our opinion, that it should be placed at Chevelu. D'Anville's authority is always respectable, but as he is obliged to alter the Itineraries in order to arrive at Novalese, that situation which agrees with them is surely to be preferred. If the army had come from Pont de Beauvoisin, it might perhaps have taken the road by Aiguebellette, which would have been shorter and not much more difficult than that by the Mont du Chat ; but if they came from Aouste and St. Genis, which by the previous hypothesis they must have done, they would probably have preferred the easiest road. The character of the pass by the Mont du Chat agrees also much better with the description of Polybius, than that of Aiguebellette. The King of Sardinia is now completing a very fine road by the Mont du Chat,

* Beaumont, *Alpes Grecques et Cottiennes*, vol. 2. p. 2. p. 426.

and if a bridge was thrown over the Rhone near Yenne there would be a direct communication with Pont d'Ain and Macon, through the country of Bresse, which would greatly shorten the road from Paris to Chambéry. The Mont du Chat was much frequented before the road by the Echelles was opened; the constable of Bourbon passed over it in 1523, and Montaigne crossed it in 1581. Lord Herbert of Cherbury gives an account in his memoirs of having crossed by Aiguebellette on his return from Italy, and he calls the passage Gaballete, in which manner it is now pronounced by the peasants.

CHAP. V.

MARCH OF THE ARMY FROM BOURGET TO SCEZ. DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY THROUGH WHICH THEY PASSED. ROMAN ROAD THROUGH IT.

WE have now entered upon the Alps themselves, in the passage of which the army employed fifteen days, the length of the march being 1200 stadia, or 150 miles;* and if we have been correct in the reasoning by which we have been induced to encamp the army in the plain of Chambery at the end of the first day, we can hardly be liable to any mistake hereafter; for once at Chambery, the road must of necessity carry them to Montmeillan, and from thence up the Isere. Polybius says, that having halted one day after the action in the town which he had taken, and having procured ample supplies, the army set forward on their march, and proceeded in safety for some days; but on the fourth the inhabitants of the country through which he was passing came out to meet them with boughs and garlands; and notwithstanding all the suspicions of Hannibal, they succeeded in persuad-

* Polyb. c. 39.

ing him of their sincerity, by offering him hostages for their good conduct, and by supplying the troops with cattle in abundance. In consequence of this, he took some of them with him as guides for two days more, at the end of which those people having assembled a great force, attacked the army at the entrance of a ravine, difficult of access and precipitous. From the plain of Chambéry to the point of attack we have six days, and this time, according to Polybius, brings us to the foot of the highest ridge of the Alps; for we shall find, in the fifty-third chapter, that Hannibal having passed the night of the sixth on the field of battle, put himself on the morning of the seventh at the head of the army, and led them forthwith to the summit of the Alps, which he reached early on that day, the seventh from Chambéry, and the ninth from his passage of the Mont du Chat. Now although Polybius is extremely sparing of his description of the country through which the army passed, till they arrived at the foot of the highest chain; yet, as has been before observed, it is next to impossible that having once arrived at Chambéry, they could take any other road but that of the Little St. Bernard. It is true, that at present, the road by the Mont Cenis passes equally through Chambéry and Montmeillan, and ascends the Isère for a short distance afterwards; yet, as this road is not mentioned by Strabo, in his enumeration of the passages over the Alps, according to Polybius, it is clear that

this latter author was unacquainted with it, which he certainly would not have been if Hannibal had passed over it. Strabo himself says nothing about it as of his own knowledge, and it was therefore unknown to the Romans ; but even supposing this not to be the case, the river Arc, along which the Mont Cenis road runs, makes its way through a valley, so rocky, and so barren of all cultivation, that no moderate quantity of troops, (much less so large an army as that of Hannibal) could possibly find in it supplies sufficient for their subsistence : nor could the miserable inhabitants, who could be supported in this country, presume enough upon their strength, to attack so great a number of troops. Finally, why should Hannibal, who was provided with guides, who must have known the best road, have gone by the worst, even if it had been known at that time, when the best lay equally open to him. The valley of the Isere, along which we suppose the army to have marched, on their way to the Little St. Bernard, is by far the richest, the most fertile, most cultivated, and most populous of all the valleys on the western side of the Alps. The vine grows almost at the foot of the St. Bernard itself ; and the great breadth of the valley, together with the extraordinary heat of the summers, enable them to grow sometimes three crops in the year. The sides of the mountains are cultivated almost to their summits, and are covered

with farm houses ; so that there would be no difficulty in obtaining supplies to any amount, especially cattle, of which they have great quantities, that are fed in the summer upon the tops of the mountains. Along this fertile valley the army would naturally proceed ; and we shall find, that the time spent in passing through it, agrees extremely well with the distance from the St. Bernard to the plain of Chambery, and the average number of miles, which troops encumbered as they were with provisions and baggage, and marching in a single column, would perform in a day. The army would naturally follow the course of the river ; and by that means would find themselves almost precisely in the track, occupied at a later period by the great Roman road, from Vienna to Augusta ; and this Roman road ran, as nearly as possible, where the present one does, as may be proved, both from the distances laid down in the Itineraries, and from some remains of it which have been found in various places. On the Roman road, according to the Itineraries, the first station from Lemincum (Chambery) is Mantala, and the distance sixteen miles. The second, ad Publicanos or Conflans, at the same distance from Mantala. D'Anville, in his account of this road,* instead of making it join the Isere at Montmeillan, and thence along its banks to Conflans,

* Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, art. Mantala.

which would give thirty-two miles in the whole, and consequently agree exactly with the Itineraries, has supposed the existence of a road running directly east from Chambery, over some extremely high and very difficult mountains, and joining the Isere at a place called Mantaillet. This makes it necessary for him, to suppose an error in the Itineraries as to the distance between Mantala and ad Publicanos, (Conflans), about which latter place there can be no doubt at all. M. De Luc has, I think, with more propriety, placed Mantala at Bourg Evescal,* which is sixteen miles from Chambery, by the Montmeillan road, and the same distance from Conflans. There is at present no road whatever, across the mountains, in the direction which D'Anville supposes, the chain being of a great height. Conflans, or rather l'Hôpital, which is a sort of suburb attached to Conflans, a little to the north, and upon the river Arly, is ad Publicanos without any doubt. This Latin name, according to D'Anville, designates a place where toll was taken for the passage of a bridge, or the entrance into a new territory ; and l'Hôpital marks the existence of an Hospitium or Stabulum, which would naturally be erected at such a place. Now, the bridge for which toll would be taken, would be the bridge over the Arly, which runs

* Bourg Evescal is very near St. Pierre d'Albigny, one of the most beautiful villages in the valley of the Isere.

here into the Isere ; and as this river formed the boundary between the territories of the Allobroges and Centrones, we have an additional reason for the payment of toll in this place. From ad Publicanos, where the road entered the country of the Centrones (the modern Tarantaise), to Darantasia, the capital, the Itineraries give sixteen miles, three to Oblimum, and thirteen to Darantasia. M. I. I. Roche, director of the royal salt-works at Moutiers, who has published a small treatise on the Centrones, places Oblimum at La Bâtie, a little more than three miles from l'Hôpital, and derives the name from the large deposits of mud and sand which the Isere makes at its angle in this place. On the opposite side of the river, and at the same distance from l'Hôpital, is a small village called St. Blaye, which may have taken its name from the Roman station. Darantasia, according to M. Roche, whose reasons are sufficiently convincing, must be placed at the old town of Salins, now almost deserted, and a little to the south of Moutiers, which is more modern. The road appears to have crossed to the left bank of the river about half way between Conflans and Moutiers, and to have repassed it at the village of Chen-tron or Centron, about five miles from Moutiers. From Darantasia the Itineraries give ten miles to Axuma, now Ayme, one of the chief towns of the Centrones, and, according to inscriptions discovered there, probably called Forum Claudii, before the

name of Axuma was finally given to it. It is true that Ptolemy mentions ἐν ταῖς Γραῖαις Ἀλπεσι, Κεντρώνων Φόρος Κλαυδῖς, Αἰμίμα, meaning apparently two distinct places. Forum Claudii is however not marked in the Itineraries, and the inscriptions themselves seem to indicate that Ayme was first called Oppidum Centronum, then Forum Claudii, and lastly Axuma. The village of Centron has no remains of antiquities, and does not appear ever to have been much larger than it is at present, but its name is certainly derived from the Centrones. From Axuma to Bergintrum, now Bourg St. Maurice, eight miles; from thence to Scez, two miles; making altogether from Chambery a distance of seventy miles, or, if we take it from Bourget, of seventy-seven miles, as the march of the army along the flat country of the Alps, from the first ascent at the Mont du Chat to the foot of the highest chain at Scez: this being performed in six days, would be at the rate of thirteen miles a day, or perhaps rather more; for they must have reached Scez about the middle of the sixth day, as it was on that spot that they were attacked during their march by the mountaineers. Such at least is the distance by the Roman road, and the course of the army could not be materially different from it. Very little difficulty could be encountered during this part of the march, and we find that Polybius makes mention of none whatever. From Chambery to Montmeillan the valley is large and very rich, and from thence

to Conflans, though not so wide as the valley of the Gresivaudan, it is still very large. From the fort of Montmeillan, which commands both these vallies, the view is beautiful. The roads are altogether excellent, and generally bordered by fine walnut trees. At Freterive, a village a little beyond the place where Mantala probably stood, are several Roman inscriptions extremely perfect. We met however with none which related to the name of the place. Opposite to this village is the entrance of the Maurienne, and the valley which leads up the river Arc to the Mont Cenis. We saw vines every where on the north side of the river, along which the modern road runs. The crops were very fine, and the land well cultivated. The valley is here about two miles broad, and the ground well calculated for the march of troops. For six miles before we arrive at Conflans, the road is quite straight, very fine and broad ; the country covered with fine wood, where it is not under corn or vines ; walnuts and oaks. The old Roman way ran close to the river, and has been covered by its inundations. Beyond Conflans the valley is much narrower, but widens again, and the mountains are very high on the sides of the river. Before Moustier it narrows exceedingly, and is very rocky : the old road passed on the southern side of the river : the town of Moustier stands in a little plain quite surrounded by mountains. There are here some very rich salt springs, and there are silver and

lead mines near it, as well as a mineral spring of great celebrity. From hence the valley is at first narrow, but soon widens; the country still very populous, but the fertility such, that they export great quantities of corn and much cattle. A great spirit of independence is observable every where; the people do not appear to want any thing from abroad, but are all of opinion, that they have amply sufficient for themselves. At Ayme a small river runs into the Isere, which turns several saw mills, and there is an appearance of great industry and prosperity in the town. Mr. Roche, to whose book we have already alluded, quotes several inscriptions, to shew that this town was formerly the Forum Claudii of the Centrones, and that it was called Axima at a later period. In addition to the inscriptions are the following verses, which may, perhaps, not be thought misplaced here.

Sylvane, sacra semicluse fraxino,
 Et hujus alti summe custos hortuli,
 Tibi hasce grates dedicamus musicas,
 Quod nos per arva, perque montes Alpicoſ,
 Tuique luci ſuaveolentis hospites,
 Dum juſ gubernò remque fungor Cæſarum
 Tuo favore proſperante ſoſpitas.
 Tu me meoſque reduces Romam ſiſtito :
 Daque Itala rura te colamus præſide.
 Ego jam dicabo mille magnas arbores.

T. POMPONII. VICTORIS. PROC. AUGUSTO. T.*

* This inscription, which stood in the church of St. Martin, at Ayme, is cited by Guichenon, from the MSS. of Char.

At three or four miles from St. Maurice, on turning a rock which comes down close to the river, you open upon a large plain, in which stands that town and Scez. The passage of the Little St. Bernard is directly in front, and so marked, that it is impossible to mistake it; on both sides of it the mountains are very high, and covered with snow; but the passage itself seems low and practicable. A large gypsum rock, called universally *La Roche-blanche*, stands at the entrance of it. The plain itself is cultivated, but near the passage firs alone are seen, all other trees having disappeared. From this plain the army would have to enter the defile of the passage of the Little St. Bernard in the middle of the sixth day. They had left the territory of the *Allobroges* at *Conflans*, and entered upon that of the *Centrones*. The former were separated by the *Iser* on the south from the *Segalauni* and *Vocontii*; to the east they bordered on the *Medulli* and *Centrones*; to the north, on the *Nantuates* and *Helvetii*; and to the west, on the *Segusiani*, *Ambarri*, and *Sequani*.* The territory of the *Centrones* was,

Aug. de Sales, Bishop of Geneva. Guichenon, *Hist. Général. de la Maison de Savoye*, T. 1, p. 34.

* The name of *Acitavones*, cited by Pliny, in the trophy of the Alps, lib. iii. c. 20. is supposed by the best critics to be a mistake for *Centrones*, this people not being mentioned at any other time; and it is not likely that so great a tribe as the *Centrones* should have been omitted. Cæsar first mentions

according to D'Anville, very much what the Tarentaise is now, and Pliny calls them borderers, that is, bordering on Italy. Ptolemy places them on the Graian Alps, and on that side they touched the Salassi, who inhabited the valley of Aosta. The army would reach Conflans in three days from Bourget, and it was on the fourth day that the envoys met them. This circumstance is in itself sufficient to point out their entrance into the territories of another people. Polybius describes these envoys as coming out to meet Hannibal, *Θαλλοὺς ἔχοντες καὶ στεφάνους*. Dom Vincent Thuillier, in his translation of this passage, has rendered *θαλλοὺς* olive branches, a mistake which has induced the Marquis de St. Simon to carry the army as low as Barcelonnette, that being the only place to the north of the Durance where olive trees grow.* On the fourth day the army would arrive very near Moustier, on the fifth between Ayme and St. Maurice, and on the middle of the sixth they would be at Scez ; having arrived thus far without experiencing any difficulty from the want of supplies, and having been engaged in no action since the passage of the Mont du Chat. The great size of the army, drawing as it evidently did its resources from the country through which it passed, sufficed them as having opposed his passage, *vid. Chap. I. and D'Anville, Notice de la Gaule, Art. Centrones, p. 221.*

* We visited Barcelonnette in 1821, on our passage over the Col de L'Argentière, and found a most miserable country, and no appearance whatever of olive trees.

ciently proves, that this country must have been well cultivated, and consequently full of inhabitants ; and this latter circumstance is confirmed by the host of barbarians who hung upon the rear, and attacked them on their passage from Scez. No other of the known passages of the Alps can be at all compared with this one, in these two essential qualities ; and it is only necessary to have passed through the Maurienne or Mont Cenis road, and the road from the Mont Genevre, along the Romanche to Grenoble, to be convinced that a large army, without magazines, must have been starved in any attempt to get through them. It is upon this fact, which has never been sufficiently considered before, that we are inclined to lay the greatest stress, and when united with the agreement of distances, it becomes almost irresistible. In the next chapter we shall enter upon the passage of the St. Bernard, and shall shew, that the situation of the pass corresponds as nearly as possible with the description given by Polybius of the spot where the army was attacked by the Centrones, on the middle of the sixth day of their march from Bourget and the plain of Chambéry.

CHAP. VI.

ATTACK MADE ON THE ARMY AT THE FOOT OF THE
GREAT CHAIN OF THE ALPS. THEIR ASCENT TO
THE SUMMIT. DESCRIPTION OF THE LITTLE ST.
BERNARD. ENCAMPMENT THERE.

POLYBIUS,* in his relation of the attack made upon the army on their entrance into the defiles at the foot of the highest chain of the Alps, says, that they must all have perished, if Hannibal had not placed the baggage in the front, and the heavy armed troops in the rear. Still, however, the loss was very great, as the barbarians rolled rocks and stones upon them, so that he was obliged to pass the night with some of his best troops upon a certain λευκόπετρον ὄχυρόν,† by which manœuvre he was enabled to protect the line of march. The night was almost spent before the army had entirely passed the defiles; and as the barbarians had by this time given up their attacks, Hannibal quitted his position, and putting himself at the head of the column, led them on to the highest summit of the Alps. Here he encamped for two days, during

* C. 53. † Literally, a white rock, strong from its position.

which time he was joined by many stragglers, and horses that had been left behind ; he arrived at the summit on the ninth day from his first ascent of the Mont du Chat. The first day was employed in forcing the pass and taking the town. The second in the halt near Chambery. The following six days in marching up the Isere, and he arrived on the ninth.

It will be seen, on reference to the plan of the passage of the St. Bernard, that at Scez the Isere makes an angle. The valley through which it runs from the Mont Iseran being on the S. E., while that from Scez to Moustier, is S. W. At this angle it is joined by the Reclus, which takes its rise in the mountain of the Little St. Bernard. The modern road goes from Soez to Villars, and soon after crosses the Reclus, and goes up the side of the mountain to St. Germain, running from thence along the right bank of that stream, till it arrives very near its source, when it again crosses it, and joins the old road, which had always kept on the left bank ; on this left bank, and just above the first bridge, by which the modern road crosses the Reclus, stands a high, white rock of gypsum, called in the country, universally, La Roche-blanche. The Reclus, whose course is to the S. W., runs under its side, and is confined in a very deep and rocky channel. On the other side of the rock is a woody ravine, through which another small stream flows, which afterwards comes down

through Villars to Scez. The remains of the Roman road made by Augustus, have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Villars, and it probably went up this woody ravine in the manner laid down in the plan. The present road by St. Germain is quite modern. From the words used by Polybius *φάραγγα τινὰ δυσβατον καὶ κρημνώδη*, which apply extremely well to the bed of the Reclus, we might be tempted to suppose, that the army had marched up this torrent; but this passage would have been so difficult, that I can hardly conceive it possible to have been accomplished. The Roman road, though very much exposed to the attacks of the barbarians, would have been more easy. As the two passages unite towards the source of the Reclus, it is possible, that separate columns might have marched up each of them; but whether they took the line of the torrent, or the Roman road, or both, the position of the Roche-blanche was eminently calculated for the defence of their march. From hence, Hannibal commanded the whole plain of Scez, and was able to act against the enemy on the heights above St. Germain, as well as upon those on the flanks of the Roman road. General Melville and M. de Luc attach great importance to the fact of the existence of a white rock, in the exact spot on which, according to Polybius, it ought to be found. The expression itself occurs only twice in Polybius, and I am not aware, that it is to be found in any

other author, as applied in a general sense. Strabo and Ptolemy both use it, but only as the name of particular promontories. Literally translated, λευκόπετρον means a white rock; but in the 10th book, chap. 27, where the word again occurs, it must be taken in the sense of a naked rock. In M. Larauza's work upon this subject, which we shall have occasion to recur to hereafter, there are some judicious remarks upon the word λευκόπετρον, in answer to Mr. Letronne, who considers it as only equivalent to λεωπετρον, a *smooth rock*. M. Larauza endeavours also to shew, that the word as used again by Polybius, in the 10th book, signifies equally a *white rock*. This he does by applying the expression to a specific range of mountains, which divide Parthia from Hyrcania, instead of taking it in a general sense, as applying to any mountains in the line of march. We have been careful not to attach much importance to single points of evidence, though, when strengthened by others, we may fairly consider our case as benefited by them. Without, therefore, relying too much upon this coincidence, it is certainly worth remarking. M. De Luc* has given a very animated description of General Melville's passage over this ground, and of his discovery of the Roche-blanche, while he had his Polybius in his hand. It is quite certain, that the rock in question is called, universally, by this name, and that there is a tradition

* De Luc, p. 150.

among the inhabitants, that a great battle had been fought at the foot of it. Our guide, who was a very respectable inhabitant of Villar, talked, as a matter of every day conversation, of Hannibal, and of his march through the country, at the time of the Saracens. He assured us, also, that he had himself, seen, and handled, very large bones of beasts, which had been taken out of the little stream that flows through the ravine, up which the Roman road passed. These bones, he said, were much larger than those of oxen; and when the little stream overflowed and washed away the soil, some of these bones were sometimes found. He himself made no mention of elephants, and seemed ignorant what the bones were: some of them, he said, had been preserved, but we were unable to discover where. The extreme difficulty of the road will very easily account for the whole night spent on the march; but as the passage up to the top of the St. Bernard, widens considerably towards the end, Hannibal might without difficulty, after the enemy had desisted from their attacks, get up to the head of the troops, and lead them to the plain on the summit of the mountain. It is remarkable here, as well as elsewhere, that no mention whatever is made of any attempt made by the guides to mislead the army. They appear to have been always upon the right road, and no delay occurs excepting that which arises from the badness of the way, and the attacks of the enemy. When these

attacks cease, they find their way to the summit, which, if we have been right in our original conception of their route, they could not well fail to do ; for the pass, which is visible from a great distance, goes directly from Scez to the top of the St. Bernard, neither turning to the right nor to the left. We have before remarked, that it was impossible to mistake the passage of the Mont du Chat: and from thence the road along the Isere is so clear, that, even without guides, it could not be missed. The road up the St. Bernard is visible from St. Maurice, and, being much lower than the surrounding mountain, seems to have been pointed out by nature before any artificial labour was bestowed on it. We were four hours and a half in going from Scez to the hospital at the top of the mountain by the modern road ; the Roman one is not so long. It had been in Bonaparte's contemplation to carry a new road up the ravine where the Roman one passed, and we saw traces of the preparations that had been made for it. It is certain that this is altogether the easiest passage over the Alps ; for although that of the Mont Genevre is lower, there is no getting from Briançon into the plains without crossing some of the secondary chains, from Dauphiny, which are of great height and difficulty, while the Isere affords an easy way to the very foot of the St. Bernard without any check at all. De Saussure, in his *Voyages dans les Alpes*, tom. 4, calls it, " Le passage des Alpes le plus facile que je

“connoisse.” It was on the ninth day in the morning from the passage of the Mont du Chat, as we have already explained, that the army reached the summit; and this, according to Dr. Maskelyne, was about the 26th of October; for Polybius says that it was at the time of the setting of the Pleiades, and General Melville consulted Dr. M. as to the time at which this took place. The army halted on the summit for two days; and there is in fact a plain here of about two miles and a half in length, which is fully capable of containing the number of troops which Hannibal had with him at this time. The plain is, according to De Saussure, 1125 toises above the level of the sea; it is well sheltered, and in the centre of it is a small lake. The river Doire takes its rise here. The hospital or convent is situated very near the entrance of it on the Savoy side, and is a small building formerly inhabited by a colony of monks from the Great St. Bernard, but now by two men who reside there at the expense of the government. They have a supply of salt provisions and wine, and remain here all the winter. During the summer months the traffic is considerable, and mules are constantly passing. The carriage road ends at St. Maurice on the Savoy side, and at La Tuille on the Piedmont side; and mules alone are used for the passage of the mountain. In 1815, however, a column of Austrians of six thousand men and ten pieces of cannon passed over it. These were in all probability the same troops that

we heard of at the Mont du Chat. They had sent forward to have the road repaired; and when we crossed in August, 1819, we found that we should have had very little difficulty in passing with a light char.

This body of men marched in one day from Pont Serrant to Villars. Trees cease after the village of St. Germain. We saw hardly any snow on our passage on the 24th of August; the high mountains, however, on each side were covered with it. There is no cultivation on the summit, except that there is a little garden which adjoins the convent. We did not find the cold at all severe; and the thermometer, sheltered from the wind and sun, stood at half-past nine A. M. at 54. About three-quarters of a mile to the N. E. of the convent, stands the Colonne de Joux, or Columna Jovis, a broken pillar of Cipoline marble, about twenty feet high, and seven in circumference. Though this is called the Column of Jupiter, it might have belonged to a temple of Hercules, which stood, according to Petronius, upon the *Alpis Graia* :

*Alpibus aeris, ubi Graio nomine pulsæ
Descendunt rupes, et se patiuntur adiri,
Est locus Herculeis sacer aris, &c.*

About three hundred yards to the N. E. of this column is a large circle of stones, of eighty yards in

diameter, exactly resembling what we call a druidical circle. The stones are very large, and in general so deeply sunk in the earth as not to be more than two or three feet above it. This is universally called the Circle of Hannibal ; and the tradition of the country is, that he held a council of war in that circle. Our host at Scez had talked much of these stones, and our guide also ; but as their testimony might not be wholly disinterested, we were satisfied on finding a large party of muleteers and country people assembled at the convent, who were all as well acquainted with the Circle of Hannibal as our first informants : the name was constantly mentioned by them without any inquiry on our part. After arriving at the source of the Reclus, the road rises very slowly, and the ascent appears to be altogether so easy, that it is difficult to persuade oneself that one has arrived at the summit of the great chain of the Alps. The snow begins to fall in September, and the inhabitants said that their winter began at Michaelmas. The distance from Chevelu to the Alpis Graia is, by the Itineraries, ninety-two miles.* The army employed eight days in performing this space, as they halted

* This distance is longer than the real one ; by Raymond's large map of the Alps, it is not above 85 miles, and M. A. de Beaumont gives 21 leagues from Chambery to the summit of the Little St. Bernard, which, at 3 miles to a league, makes 64 miles ; to which must be added, the 14 miles from Chevelu to Chambery. Total, 78 miles.

one day at Chambery, which gives a rate of eleven miles and a half a day.

On a second visit to the Little St. Bernard in 1826, we found that some excavations had been made, and that the foundations of a large building, which was probably a temple, had been discovered. This building stands a little to the N. E. of the circle of stones, called Hannibal's Circle, and is about 150 feet in length by 50 in breadth. Some Roman pottery and bricks were discovered in the course of the excavations, which, however, are very incomplete, in consequence of the removal of the officer who conducted them, to some other station. We were unable, on account of the weather, to ascend the peak called Belveder, which stands N.E. of the Hospice, and from which the view is magnificent. To the north is the Mont Blanc, and the Glaciers which fall into the Allée Blanche; to the east, the Mont Rosa and the Great St. Bernard; to the south, the Mont Iseran, and the immense glaciers of the Ruitor. A more detailed description of this view, one of the finest in the Alps, will be found in the *Journal des Mines*, tom. 17. p. 235. 1805, in a letter from Mr. J. H. Hassenfratz.

Polybius goes on to tell us, in the fifty-fourth chapter, that as there was already much snow on the mountain, and the troops were beginning to sink under the hardships they had encountered, in order to raise their spirits, Hannibal pointed out to them the plains around the Po, and the situation

of Rome itself, and by these means succeeded in encouraging them a little.

This passage presents some difficulty, for it is undoubtedly certain, that from the plain on the summit of the Little St. Bernard, it is quite impossible to see the country round the Po, or the situation of Rome itself. Fortunately, however, for our theory, it is equally certain that this country is alike invisible from all the other known passages of the Alps, which are practicable for carriages; and the view from the Mont Genevre, is as much circumscribed as that of the Little St. Bernard. The very circumstance of a passage over this enormous chain of mountains, supposes a depression in the chain, for no man at all acquainted with the country, or with the difficulties attendant upon a march through it, could for a moment suppose that the inhabitants themselves would attempt to scale the inaccessible precipices of the highest ridges; and if not the inhabitants, how much less would an army, encumbered, as it must be, by its baggage, and beasts of burden, take any way but that pointed out to them, by the very nature of the place, and the previous passage of the natives of the country. We have said, that the very circumstance of a passage supposes a breach in the main ridge; and if so, it will follow, that the passage, from being lower than the surrounding mountains, must be effectually debarred from any extensive view; and the facts themselves agree

with this reasoning, for nothing is visible from the Simplon, from the Great St. Bernard, the Mont Cenis, or the Mont Genevre, any more than from the Little St. Bernard. It is impossible even to command a view, of any extent, of the valleys themselves by which you descend, for it will be easy to see, by consulting a good map of the Alps, that the great chain is always flanked by smaller ones that run off from it at right angles, like the buttresses of a cathedral, and these are in their turn flanked by smaller ribs ; so that as the main chain itself runs in many different directions, the valleys at the foot of it are necessarily very winding, and no one exists which maintains the same course for many miles together. But even if we allowed it for a moment to be possible for an army, as large as that of Hannibal, to climb over a part of the highest ridge of the Alps, which should be so high as to enable them to command a view of the plains round the Po ; it would, even then, from the nature of the ground, be absolutely impossible for them to encamp on this ridge. The passage itself, however, would be totally impracticable ; and although the general accuracy of Polybius, and the implicit confidence which we have hitherto placed in him, must make us hesitate before we abandon the strict literal reading of the account in question ; yet, as he says, in the very same sentence, and almost in the very same form of words, that Hannibal showed the army the situation of

Rome itself, as well as the plains round the Po, we may reasonably and fairly conclude, that the direction and bearings of these places is all that is meant; and that the general was satisfied with proving to the army, that they had arrived at the summit of the Alps, and were now about to obtain the reward of their exertions by an easy and rapid descent into the plains of Italy. And this might well enough be done, as the waters begin to flow different ways on the plain itself of the St. Bernard: and the valley of La Tuille, which is not more than 650 toises above the level of the sea, and consequently 475 toises below the St. Bernard, is easily distinguishable from it. M. De Luc* supposed that he was able to shew them the valley of Aoste, as well as that of La Tuille; but this is not so. The direction of this last, is N. E. and S. W., and the valley runs on in nearly the same direction, as far as Bré St. Didier, where it makes a turn to the E., and runs in that line to Aoste. The account of Hannibal pointing out the plains of Italy to his soldiers, has been given by Livy in a much more romantic manner, and his description, as well as that of the general appearance of the Alps, decidedly prove, that he was himself totally ignorant of the subject upon which he was writing. This particular part has, however, been much dwelt upon, and has made a much

* De Luc, p. 157.

greater impression than it deserves ; so much so, as to have induced some French writers on the subject to carry the whole army by the col of the Mont Viso, from which there can be no doubt that they would command a most extensive view of Italy. But such marches for armies are inadmissible. The guides from the plains of the Po would lead the army by the passages to which they had themselves been accustomed ; and as those passages are marked out by nature, they would remain unaltered to the present day, though, from various circumstances, they may be more or less frequented than formerly.

Civilization has afforded great additional incitements, and the progress of the arts, and the discovery of gunpowder, have given great additional facilities to our undertakings ; but these have nevertheless been generally confined to the improvement of those passages which were already known, and which, having existed from the first formation of the barriers which they were intended to penetrate, were pointed out by the hand of nature to the first inhabitants of these countries. If any other passage commanded a view of the plains, we might hesitate ; but as none do, we must content ourselves with explaining the account of Polybius as well as we can. And if we confine ourselves to the first part of his observation, we shall find nothing in it inconsistent with the state of the country on the Little St. Bernard.

Polybius says, that "Hannibal endeavoured to encourage his soldiers, having one resource for this, the sight of Italy." Now that object was easily attainable from the passage in question, as the valley of La Tuille is at the foot of it, and would be perfectly visible from the pass itself by the whole army. But when Polybius goes on to say, that Hannibal pointed out the plains of the Po, and explained the situation of Rome itself, we must enlarge the expression so far as to suppose that he called the stream which falls into the Po by the name of that river, which he might as well do, as attempt to point out the situation of Rome itself, with which it seems quite impossible that he could be acquainted, and which, if correctly pointed out, would not have been very encouraging, as the passage is closed up by very high mountains to the S. E., and this is equally the case with the Mont Genevre; which, like the Little St. Bernard, takes a N. E. direction from Savoy to Piedmont. After all, the difficult expressions are nearly superfluous; for, the mere fact of the descent of the waters on the side of the passage opposite to that by which the army had ascended, would sufficiently shew that the great difficulties were overcome, and there was time enough, during the two days' halt on the summit, to explain the fact of their having reached the highest point of their road. But if, after all, these expressions are to be considered as inexplicable,

and they certainly are difficult, we must be content with repeating that they are equally so with respect to the other passages mentioned by Polybius, as quoted by Strabo, and they must remain to exercise the ingenuity of future commentators.

The account of the descent will form the subject of the next chapter, in which the march from the Mont du Chat to the plains of the Po and the Insubres will be concluded.

CHAP. VII.

DESCENT OF THE ARMY. DESCRIPTION OF THE ROAD.
ARRIVAL AT DONAS. SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF
TURIN. CONCLUSION OF THE MARCH.

IN the latter part of the fifty-fourth and in the fifty-fifth chapter we find, that on beginning their descent all attacks on the army by the barbarians had ceased ; notwithstanding which, their loss was nearly as great as in their ascent, for the road was extremely bad, and covered with snow, so that the men lost their way, and fell down precipices ; and, finally, they came to a place where it was impossible to pass ; for the road, which, for the distance of a stadium and a half, was very rugged, and liable to be carried away, had actually been so in a very great degree ; so that having in vain endeavoured to turn this difficult passage, Hannibal was obliged to encamp at the commencement of it. He was unable to go by any other way, for a fresh fall of snow having covered the old snow of the year before, which, by an accident of very unusual occurrence, had remained unmelted, it became impossible for the men and horses to proceed. The troops

were therefore employed in clearing away the snow and repairing the road, and in a day the cavalry and baggage were enabled to pass; the horses were then sent down to the plains below, and distributed in the pastures. In three days more they succeeded, with great difficulty, in making a road for the elephants, who were by this time almost starved. After this he collected his whole army, and descended to the plains, which he reached after a march of three days; and entered boldly into the country round the Po, and the territory of the Insubrians, having saved 20,000 infantry and 6000 cavalry. After this account follow three chapters of no importance, and then, in the sixtieth chapter, we are told, that he encamped for some time at the foot of the Alps, in order to recruit the strength of his soldiers, of whom he had lost 18,000 infantry and more than 2000 cavalry, in the passage of the Alps, for he passed the Rhone with more than 46,000 men. After this, finding that the Taurini were at war with the Insubres, his allies, he made overtures of reconciliation to them; which not being accepted, he attacked their capital, and taking it, after a siege of three days, put the inhabitants to the sword; in consequence of which, the neighbouring people immediately entered into treaties with him, so that he was enabled to undertake further and more brilliant operations.

It will not be necessary to follow Polybius any further, and in fact the descent of the Alps ceases

at his arrival in the plains of the Insubrians ; but it is essential to insert that part which relates to the capture of Turin, in order to explain the error into which those writers have fallen, who have supposed Hannibal to have arrived first among the Taurini.

The road downwards from the St. Bernard passes through a valley by the side of the Doria, (which takes its rise on the plain,) till it arrives at Pont Serrant ; here this stream is joined by another, which comes down from the mountains to the north, in a very deep and formidable ravine. The road crosses it by a wooden bridge, and the army would probably have crossed below its junction with the Doria, where the ground is easier. The ravine itself might have formed one of the numerous precipices, into which the soldiers fell from missing their way. Shortly after, the road reaches La Tuille, a large and well built village, standing in a small plain tolerably well cultivated. Here the Doria is joined by the Baltea, which flows from the Ruitor, a very high snowy mountain to the S. E., which forms one part of the central chain of the Alps. It now becomes a stream of some size, and takes the name of the Doria Baltea. The modern road runs along this river as far as Ivrea ; and it is clear from the Itineraries, that the Roman road went the same way, except in a few instances, where it was carried along the sides of the mountains, instead of the banks of the river. On leaving La Tuille, the river turns to the north, and enters a

very narrow passage between two rocks; from hence it runs on to Pré St. Didier, in a direction almost parallel to the Allée Blanche, and the back of the Mont Blanc; being divided from them by the long chain of the Cramont, in all probability the *Cremonis jugum* of Livy.* After La Tuille, the *Artolica* of the Itineraries, the modern road crosses from the left or W. to the right or E. bank of the river, and recrosses it about three miles lower down. The old road remained constantly on the left bank, and was obliged to be abandoned in consequence of the numerous avalanches, which always fall from a pointed rock that overhangs it, and which in the winter frequently carried it away. It is very remarkable, that that part of the old road which was most exposed to these accidents is about 300 yards in length, a distance agreeing almost exactly with the stadium and a half of Polybius;† and it appears that, from the very nature of the ground, it must always have been so exposed; for, as will be seen by the plan, it is situated at the bend of the river, and immediately under one of the highest points of the Cramont, and that chain of the mountains which forms the S. E. side of the Allée Blanche. From this point the ground slopes rapidly down to the river in a concave or funnel-shaped direction, the mouth of the funnel ending at the river, so that

* Lib. 21.

† The stadium is equal to 125 passus, or 625 Roman feet; a stadium and a half will therefore be 937½ Roman feet.

an avalanche from the top would be necessarily confined within the limits of the bend, and within the space of three hundred yards. It appears, from the reports of the inhabitants, that this passage is peculiarly subject to avalanches; and it happens also, that, owing to the narrowness of the bed of the river in this spot, and the precipitous nature of the rocks on both sides of it, the snow which is brought down in this manner from the Cramont, and which falls in immense masses into it, remains sometimes unmelted during the whole of the summer, and forms a natural bridge over the torrent for a considerable distance. This event happens so rarely, as to be, in the words of Polybius, ἴδιον καὶ παρηλλαγμένον: but it does sometimes takes place; for M. De Saussure, in the year 1792, at which time he passed over this road, says, speaking of this precise spot, “Le chemin est bon “et assez large, mais sur une corniche très-élevée “au dessus de la Tuille. On voit là sous ses “pieds des amas de neige, qui se sont conservés “depuis l’hiver, et qui forment des ponts sur ce “torrent.” Our guide told us that the same thing had happened in 1816, at which time the snow formed a complete bridge over the river. The snow remained unmelted also in 1823. I took great pains to ascertain whether the snow ever remained unmelted the whole year round in any other part of the road, and I was assured that such an event never took place; nor would it occur in

this spot, were it not entirely sheltered from the sun by the extreme narrowness of the ravine and the great height of the mountains on both sides. It may perhaps be thought, that the coincidence of the distance of a stadium and a half between the present day and the time of Polybius is too exact ; and that in the course of 2000 years the appearance of the defile must have undergone some more material alterations ; but the funnel-shaped construction of this part of the passage has prevented the avalanches from extending themselves ; and although masses of rock may have fallen from the highest points, there appears to have been no mark of any change in the lower part of the hollow. M. De Luc, in the appendix to his work, has inserted a very curious paper upon the effects of torrents on rocks, in which he proves very satisfactorily, that it requires an immense time for a river flowing over rocks to make much impression upon them, and that, in consequence, it will be long before the appearance of a valley can be materially altered.

It appears from the Itineraries, that Artolica (La Tuille) was six miles from Alpis Graia, or the summit of the St. Bernard ; and we find, from the narrative of Polybius, that it was on the first day's descent that the army arrived at the impassable spot : and this would agree very well with the distance of this difficult pass, which is about half a mile beyond La Tuille, and where the army evi-

dently arrived in good time, as an attempt was made to turn it before they encamped for the night. There appears here to be a little obscurity in Polybius on the subject of the new snow which had fallen on the old, and which prevented them from proceeding; for it does not appear quite certain to which of the roads the difficulties occasioned by the new snow falling upon the old are to be referred. If these difficulties prevented the army from turning the pass, then they must have endeavoured to cross the river, and to pass on the other side, or on the snow itself, which formed a road over the bed of the torrent; and as the banks are precipitous, and the bed very deep, the men and horses would suffer dreadfully in the attempt. If, on the contrary, these difficulties apply to the road itself, then it is possible that Hannibal might have endeavoured to turn the ravine altogether, by a road which runs at the back of the rocks which are on the right bank of the river, and which afterwards ascends the chain of mountains that form the south side of the valley of Aoste, and, crossing them, falls into that valley opposite to the town of Morgés, a little below Pré St. Didier. As this road takes its way at first through a very deep and hollow ravine, it would be very liable to be choked up, and rendered impassable by a great fall of snow. It is now very little used, and the descent by it into the valley of Aoste is almost impracticable.

In whatever way the attempt to turn the pass

was made, the troops were finally obliged to encamp at the entrance of it, and in all probability in the plain on which La Tuille itself is situated. The next day was employed in making a road good enough for the passage of the cavalry, and three more days in constructing one for the elephants. During these three last days, the infantry and cavalry would probably move down the valley towards Aoste, with a view to the more easily obtaining supplies; for although there are very fine pastures and a small plain at Pré St. Didier, the country grows much richer towards Aoste, and no large number either of men or horses could have remained long at the former place. From La Tuille to Arebrgium, or Pr St. Didier, the Itineraries give six miles, and from thence to Aoste twenty-five, or thirty from the difficult pass. The troops were now in a friendly country, and no inconvenience could be apprehended from the dispersion of the army in different quarters, as might be found most convenient for their subsistence. The valley from Pré St. Didier to Aoste is, with the exception of one short part of it, rich, and well cultivated. There are some large villages; and vineyards begin shortly after the road leaves the former place; in many places it is very wide, and orchards and meadows are in great abundance. At Pré St. Didier a road turns off to Cormayeur and the Allée Blanche at the back of the Mont Blanc. At Cormayeur and

Pré St. Didier there are warm baths. Those at the former are sulphureous; those of the latter have no mineral qualities, and appear to consist of nothing but pure water. They are both much frequented in summer. The situation of Pré St. Didier is very striking: surrounded as it is by enormous mountains, and standing in the middle of the most beautiful meadows and trees, the verdure of which is made more vivid by the contrast with the nakedness of the rocks that overhang them, and the magnificent glaciers which descend from the sides of Mont Blanc, into the Allée Blanche. The elephants might get down to Pré St. Didier on the evening of the fourth day, and, supposing this to be the case, the whole army would be assembled between Aoste and that village by the end of the fifteenth day from Chevelu, or Lavisco, the ascent of the Mont du Chat. The descent from the St. Bernard probably commenced on the eleventh day; for although they arrived on the ninth, and stayed two days, yet as they reached the summit early on the ninth, that day must be reckoned as one of the two. One day for the passage of the cavalry makes twelve, and three for the elephants fifteen; and this is the number of days which, according to Polybius,* he employed in passing the Alps; "having performed the passage of the Alps in fifteen days, he descended boldly into the country of the In-

* C. 56.

“subrians, and the plains about the Po.” This statement is, however, rather inconsistent with the account in the beginning of this very same chapter, which says, that having assembled his army after the passage of that difficult piece of road, which had delayed him for four days, he descended, and reached the plains in three days’ march from the broken ground, which would give eighteen days instead of fifteen. Are we then to consider the passage of the Alps as terminated at Pré St. Didier, or at the commencement of the plains of the Po, and the real termination of those mountains? It is a question of importance, because it is necessary for us to know where our distance of a hundred and fifty miles, which Polybius gives as the amount of the passage of the Alps, is to terminate. I think that there can be very little doubt that we must read eighteen days instead of fifteen, and that the hundred and fifty miles are to be completed at the commencement of the plain, and at the spot where the army was encamped, in order to recover from its fatigues, that is, at the end of the valley of Ivrea; and I am confirmed in this opinion by the words that Polybius himself makes use of in the sixtieth chapter, in which he says, that having entered Italy, he encamped *ἐπ’ αὐτὴν τὴν παρώρειαν τῶν Ἀλπεων*;^{*} and indeed the enumeration he makes of the losses sustained by the army, and the recapitulation of the

* C. 60.

march, is not made, till after the fact of their having reached the plains has been stated ; and there can be no doubt, upon his own shewing, that eighteen days must have elapsed before this event took place. It is possible that he might have intended to leave out of the account the three days employed in making the road for the elephants ; but I think it more probable that he meant, that in fifteen days the chief difficulties of the passage were overcome, and that he entered into a friendly country. The hundred and fifty miles cannot, however, be considered as concluded, till the whole passage was actually finished, and till the army were distributed into quarters. The τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία,* are the full termination of the march, and appear to be always so considered in all the places where they are mentioned, and from them no further communication of distances is made. It remains therefore to see how the hundred and fifty miles agree with the arrival at the plains, and the final place of encampment. As Polybius says that the encampment took place at the very foot of the Alps, we must place it between St. Martin and Ivrea. For the valley of Aoste ends at St. Martin, a little below the Fort du Bard, and about twelve Roman miles from Ivrea. The Itineraries give a hundred and twenty-nine miles from Lavisco to Aoste, and forty-six from thence

* C. 39.

to Ivrea, making a sum of a hundred and seventy-five miles: from which deducting twelve miles (the distance from St. Martin to Ivrea), there remain a hundred and sixty-three miles for the passage, instead of a hundred and fifty, as stated by Polybius. It must be observed, in explanation of this excess, that the Itineraries give generally a longer distance than the real one. The passage of the Little St. Bernard, for instance, from Bourg St. Maurice to Pré St. Didier is fixed at 24 miles; but from Schez, which is barely two miles from Bourg St. Maurice, the passage can be performed with ease in six hours. This would give 18 miles from Schez, and 20 from Bourg, instead of 24. The distances from Pré St. Didier to Aoste, and from this latter place to Verres, are, by the best maps, unequal, the former being about 21 miles, and the latter 24. The Itineraries give 25 miles to each stage. We have already pointed out an excess on the Savoy side, according to the maps and to the estimate of M. Beaumont, who measured the distances on that side of the Alps. If, therefore, we make a deduction of 4 miles on the Savoy side, 4 more for the passage, and 4 more on the Piedmont side, a sum total of 12 miles, we shall reduce our distances to 151 miles, which brings us within one of the measurement of Polybius; and this is certainly as close an approach as can be expected in so great an extent of country, especially as our author does not, and cannot,

speak with so much certainty with respect to this distance, as he does with respect to those which were already marked out by the Romans in his own time. For the passage of the Alps by the Little St. Bernard, was only made practicable for carriages in the time of Augustus. St. Martin* may be fairly called the entrance of the Alps, for two secondary chains of mountains, which run off at right angles from the main chain, meet a little above it, and form a very narrow pass, that closes the valley of Aoste as with a door. The first of these, the Mont Soana, comes in an easterly direction from the Mont Iséran, and the other runs

* At Donas the road has been literally cut and chiselled in the rock, which closes in to the very edge of the river. Tradition assigns this very remarkable work to Hannibal, and this pass indeed has been known for centuries among the natives as that of the Carthaginian army. There can be but little doubt that this is what Appian alludes to as the *διόδος* (ἣν οὖν καλοῦσι Ἀνιζου). Luitprand of Pavia, a Lombard writer, and Paulus Jovius, have gone so far as to state, that an inscription recording his passage was visible in the rock. But this opinion is refuted by the writer of the *Theatrum Sabaudie*, in the Art. entitled, *Via quam dicunt Annibalis in rupe excisa*. We are there told, that the inscription which really exists, records the passage of Tomaso Grimaldi, a noble Genoese, in 1474. This writer concludes by expressing his belief, that this work was executed in the time of Augustus. *Theatr. Sabaud.* vol. i. p. 54. Though we searched for an inscription, we could discover none whatever. But the passage itself has always been called by the name of Hannibal; and the Marquis de Pesay, in his *Topographie des Grandes Alpes*, speaks of it as *l'endroit nommé l'Escalier d'Annibal*.

south from the Mont Cervin. Here also, is the limit between the French and Italian languages, the Savoyard patois of the former, being spoken as far as this place, where it entirely ceases. The descent, which is rapid the greater way from Aoste, ends here; and between St. Martin and Ivrea there are no mountains, but only a wide valley with hills on each side, and Ivrea itself is completely detached, and stands in the plains. If we had supposed the army to have taken the road by Aiguebellette or the Mont de l'Epine, instead of the Mont du Chat, by Chevelu, the distance would have been shortened by thirteen miles, which would bring the army close to Ivrea; but this is not necessary, for there is no obstacle whatever, between St. Martin and Ivrea, and the valley, such as it is, scarcely rises at all: with respect to the real termination, therefore, of the Alps, we may safely place it at St. Martin; and another reason which will prevent us from pushing it further, is the distance to be performed by the army, in their descent of three days, after the passage of the rocks near La Tuille. From Pré St. Didier to St. Martin, we have about fifty-five Roman miles, which make about eighteen miles a day, too long a march, certainly, for troops in the fatigued and shattered condition of the Carthaginian army. In point of fact, however, the cavalry and infantry had six days instead of three, to perform this march in, since they had three clear days, during the time

that the road was preparing for the elephants ; and as the country was now friendly, these animals might have followed the army by shorter distances, and have arrived at St. Martin a day or two later, as they were much exhausted. It is sufficient for our purpose to shew, that it was quite possible for the main body of the army to reach St. Martin without any difficulty. It is quite impossible that the whole army could have been assembled at Pré St. Didier, as subsistence could not be found for them, and they must therefore necessarily have extended themselves along the valley towards Aoste. The modern road between these two places, is in some places cut into the rocks on the side of the valley, and is sometimes difficult, but, generally speaking, the bottom of the valley itself is by no means bad, and towards Aoste it widens considerably, and is very rich. There are many very large villages in it, and it is extremely populous. This valley was occupied by the Salassi, of whom Polybius says nothing, but who were probably a branch of the Insubres, since they were friendly to the Carthaginians.* At Ville-neuve, a few miles above Aoste, we found several Roman inscriptions in very good preservation, and the town is large and the valley wide here. Aoste itself, (*Augusta Prætoria*) is a well built town, re-

* Ptolemy ranks them under the Insubres as well as the Libicii. Cluver. *Ital. Ant.*

markable for its triumphal arch, which remains very perfect. There are also the remains of an amphitheatre. From Aoste to Chatillon, the beauty of the country exceeded any thing we had ever seen. The vegetation most abundant. The chesnut trees are of a great age, and approach, in size, almost to those celebrated ones on Mount Etna. The valley, which is very wide, swarms with farm houses and small villages, and the roads are excellent. Fine springs of water gush from the rocks on each side, and the luxuriance of the crops shew that we have reached Italy. Towards Verres the valley becomes narrower, and at Donas, as has already been observed, it is almost entirely closed by the mountains which meet there. Nothing can be more picturesque than the effects produced by them. Here you emerge from the high Alps, and descend gradually upon Ivrea, through a wide valley, bounded by much lower heights ; and at Ivrea you find yourself completely in the plain, which you see perfectly from St. Martin, a little below Donas. At this place, then, if our reasoning be conclusive, the army would arrive on the eighteenth day from Chevelu, or about the fourth of November, and they were immediately encamped at the very foot of the mountains ; and by no other known passage over the Alps, excepting the Great St. Bernard, could Hannibal have descended among the Insubrians ; but the distances alone, setting aside all other reasons, put the Great St. Bernard out of the

question. It is remarkable, that almost all the writers who have written in favour of the Mont Genevre, have totally overlooked the positive assertion of Polybius, that Hannibal descended among the Insubrians, and have relied on the authority of Livy, who brings him directly upon the country of the Taurini, or Turin, among whom he came, indeed, as Polybius tells us, but not till after he had recruited his troops among the Insubrians. There can be no doubt who these latter were; Livy himself tells us, that Milan was their capital, and both he and Polybius say, expressly, that they were at war with the Taurini. According to the best authors, these nations were divided by the Orca, to the south of which river were those nations who were Ligurians, and to the north the Gauls. The former had been subdued, and were friendly; the latter, from constant wars, were still hostile to the Romans.* In the forty-fourth chapter, Polybius expressly states, that the envoys sent from the plains about the Po were Gauls; and as they were to accompany, and even to guide, the army over the Alps, they would naturally bring them first into their own country, in order that they might recover from the fatigues of the march. M. De Luc closed the 150 miles at Aoste; but in our opinion incorrectly: for, even if we put dates and distances out of the question, it is

* In Polybius's account of the war between the Gauls and Romans, no mention whatever is made of the Ligurians as having taken a part in it.

impossible to say that the plain of Aoste is the country which borders on the Po, since it is separated from the real plains near Ivrea by a long valley of 30 miles in length. The error has arisen from not taking into consideration the three days of descent in addition to the fifteen first employed in the passage. In consequence of this, M. De Luc has been unable to make his distances agree with those of Polybius as accurately as they ought to do. This gentleman has, in his second edition, corrected this error, and has adopted our calculations. It is not necessary for us to carry the discussion further than the capture of Turin, which was effected after a siege of three days, and which terrified the neighbouring district into submission. The circumstance of this attack is in itself a sufficient proof, that he did not descend by the Mont Genevre; for we know that the Insubres were his allies, and that they were at war with the Taurini: how can it then be supposed, that these last would have suffered the Carthaginians to encamp in perfect tranquillity at the foot of the Alps, and consequently almost at the very gates of their city, while they themselves knew that they were in alliance with their enemies, and while they were in such a state of weakness and disorganization, that it would have been impossible for them to have opposed any resistance to a well combined attack? And would Hannibal, on entering a territory whose inclinations towards him were at least

doubtful, have dispersed his army, and left himself entirely without defence, in the manner described by Polybius? Among the Insubrians, on the contrary, he was at liberty to recruit his forces without any fears; and what was more natural than that he should turn his arms first against the enemies of those allies to whom he had been so much indebted, especially as by defeating them he secured the neutrality, at least, if not the more active co-operation, of the country in their neighbourhood: more especially as the Ligurians occupied a large district in the north of Italy, and were a powerful tribe, whom it became necessary therefore to conciliate, or to awe into submission by force. We find indeed, from Livy, that after the capture of Turin, Hannibal was joined by a large body of that nation. Here then we may close this branch of the discussion, in which we have endeavoured to confine ourselves strictly to Polybius, and to make the road, by which we have supposed the army to march, agree with his account.* It

* Much information on the passage of the Little St. Bernard will be obtained from M. Brockedon's most beautiful work on the Passes of the Alps, which is now in course of publication. The vignette of his first number gives a view of the pass near La Tuille, which has been so often alluded to, and the resemblance is most accurate. The work in general is so remarkable, in addition to its other merits, for its faithful representation of the places which it describes, that we may consider ourselves altogether as extremely fortunate in having the benefit of so able an illustrator as Mr. Brockedon.

now remains for us to examine the hypotheses of other writers who have treated on this subject, and to shew that they all disagree with our author, and that some of them are absolutely inconsistent with themselves; and as Livy is the source of all the opinions in favour of the Mont Genevre, we shall examine his account in the following chapter.

CHAP. VIII.

EXAMINATION OF LIVY'S ACCOUNT.

M. DE LUC, in his very ingenious refutation of Livy, by a comparison with Polybius, has introduced the parallel passages of the two authors, and has, by this means, shewn how closely the Latin historian has generally copied the Greek one, as well as the new matter which he has introduced; but as this comparison may be easily made, we shall, in order to avoid needless repetitions, confine ourselves to those passages where he forsakes his original; for that Polybius was that original cannot be doubted by any one who will take the trouble of reading the two accounts together.

And, first, it may be noticed as somewhat singular, that he never once, in the whole course of his narrative, acknowledges that he is indebted to Polybius. Again, the total want of all computation of distance, though Polybius prefaces his account with a very exact detail on this head, must strike every observer as being the result, if

not of design, at least of great negligence and inaccuracy.

Having brought Hannibal from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, and made him cross that river at the same point, and under the same circumstances which Polybius describes, Livy tells us,* that on the day after Hannibal had harangued his army, he set forward along the Rhone, and up the stream towards the interior of Gaul; not that this was his nearest way to the Alps, but because he conceived that the farther he retired from the sea, the less probability there would be of his encountering the Romans, with whom he was not desirous of fighting before he reached Italy.

Now we in vain look in Polybius for such a comment on Hannibal's movement up the Rhone; on the contrary, we are assured that it must have formed part of the original plan: this appears plainly from the thirty-ninth chapter of the third book, in which the distances are enumerated from the passage of the Rhone to the arrival of the army in Italy; and which proves, beyond a doubt, that the march up the Rhone was not forced upon Hannibal by the approach of Scipio,

* *Postero die profectus adversâ ripâ Rhodani, mediterranea Galliae petit; non quia rector ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset minus obvium fore Romanum credens; cum quo priusquam in Italiam ventum foret, non erat in animo manus conserere. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 31. ed. Crevier.*

but must have been undertaken according to his previous design and plan. Polybius has expressly declared,* that Hannibal had formed the whole plan of his march long beforehand. He had well ascertained, previously to setting out, all the difficulties and dangers which must necessarily attend so bold and arduous an undertaking; he had well inquired into the nature of the country and places through which he was to pass, as well as the character and disposition of its inhabitants; above all, he relied on the guides of the country, *καθηγεμόσιν ἐγχωρίοις*, who had advanced to the passage of the Rhone to meet him, and who, as they were to share his good or ill fortune, were necessarily devoted to his cause. Are we then to suppose, that the unexpected appearance of the Roman consul at the mouth of the Rhone, at a distance of four days' march from the Carthaginian camp, could have the effect of totally deranging such a well-digested plan, of altering combinations so deliberately made, of counteracting measures so maturely weighed and organized?—or, rather, must we not attribute this comment of Livy to the necessity under which he found himself, of giving some explanation of the deviation here assumed from the course which he supposes Hannibal intended to follow?

We repeat, that nothing of this sort is to be found in Polybius. The only measure which, in

* Polyb. lib. iii. cap. 34—48.

his account, seems to imply apprehension on the Carthaginian general's part, is the prudent precaution of placing the cavalry and elephants in the rear in his march towards the north, after the passage of the Rhone.

But allowing for a moment the truth of Livy's assertion, and supposing Hannibal to have originally intended to proceed to the Alps by the shortest way, "qua rector ad Alpes via esset,"* how are we to account for his crossing the Rhone so much above the Durance, along whose banks he might have marched with as much facility, and as little molestation from the enemy, as along the Rhone? If no reason can be assigned, it follows, that it never entered into his determination to proceed that way.

Livy,† however, goes on to tell us, that Hannibal in four days arrived at the country called the *Insula*, which we have seen so accurately described by Polybius. The Roman historian merely informs us, that this name is given to a cer-

* The Roman way followed the Durance from Cabellio, *Cavaillon*, to Apta Julia, *Apt*; Segustero, *Sisteron*; Ebrodunum, *Embrun*, to Brigantio, *Briançon*, and the Mont Genevre. Wesseling. *Vet. Rom. Itiner.* p. 342, 3.

† Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit: ibi Isara Rhodanusque amnes, diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi, confluent in unum. Mediis campis Insulæ nomen inditum; incolunt prope Allobroges, gens jam inde nullâ Gallicâ gente opibus aut famâ inferior. *Lib. xxi. c. 31.*

tain portion of territory encompassed by the Isere* and Rhone at their junction; thus omitting all mention of the mountainous barrier which closed the third side, as well as of its extent and fertility. This difference between the two accounts is as striking as its reason is manifest. Polybius evidently describes a country in which the operations he details are carried on, and consequently wishes to make his readers as well acquainted with its situation as possible; while Livy necessarily omits a detail which would be in evident contradiction with the route he had in view. Nor is the latter more correct or exact in the position which he assigns to the Allobroges. "Hard by," says he, "live the Allobroges;" surely not near the Insula, as Crevier well observes, but in it. It certainly is in the Insula that Polybius places the scene of those transactions, in which Hannibal settled the disputes between the two brothers, by securing to the elder the possession of the throne. These are allowed by Livy to be Allobroges; while, however, he copies from the Greek historian the general facts, he still amplifies and adorns the narrative in a manner peculiar to himself. He then proceeds to state,† that Hannibal, having settled the dis-

* Though most of the MSS. read Arar, it is clear that it ought to be Isara. One MS. reads Bissarar, which gives the true reading Ibi Isara.

† Sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum, quum jam Alpes peteret, non rectâ regione iter instituit; sed ad lævam in Tri-

putes, did not continue his march by the direct route, but inclined to the left towards the Tricastini; that is, he did not take the road which would have brought him to Vienne and the Mont du Chat, by still continuing his march along the Rhone, but he sought to regain the road which led to the Cottian Alp in the best and shortest manner he could. If in this account, however, Livy is consistent with his plan and hypothesis, he is not equally so with reason and Polybius. With reason, because it seems absurd to imagine that Hannibal should cross the Isere either with the whole or part of his army, to waste time of so much value in settling a dispute with which he could have no concern, had his arrival in the country not formed a natural incident in his march. With Polybius, because his silence as to all deviation, nay, rather his positive declaration to the contrary, from the computation of the march along the Rhone, prevents us from supposing he could at all have entertained the idea.

Let us, however, see how the Carthaginian army is to arrive at the Mont Genevre from the left bank of the Isere, if it be contended that it did not cross that river.

It will surely not be by returning to the Tricas-

castinos flexit: inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tetendit in Tricorios: haud usquam impeditâ viâ, priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis, longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est, &c.

tini; that is, nearly to the very point from which they had set out after the passage of the Rhone. Nor is it possible to conceive how the Tricastini, the people of St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux, could have been to the left of the Carthaginian army as it moved from the Isere. There is sufficient reason, therefore, for supposing the passage to be corrupt; and, if a conjecture might be allowed in a difficulty, which seems scarcely to admit of a more reasonable explanation, we should be inclined to suppose that these words, "*ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit*," are in their wrong place, and ought to have formed part of the passage quoted from the beginning of the same chapter.* This will at least enable us to obviate what is so repugnant to reason and common sense.

Another way of explaining this turn to the left, might be by supposing the army to retrace its steps, and to march directly down the Rhone from the island, in which case it would on its arrival at St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux, turn off to the left, and skirting the Vocontii on their southern extremity, reach the Durance at Sisteron. There exists at present a road in this direction by Nions and Serres, but it is difficult and mountainous. This return down the Rhone would also be inconsistent

* This passage might then stand thus: *Postero die profectus adversâ ripâ Rhodani, ad lævam in Tricastinos flectit et mediterranea Galliæ petit.*

with the reasons which, according to Livy, had induced Hannibal to march up that river as far as the island, namely, to avoid the Roman army, since, by this countermarch, he would run the risk of falling directly in with them.

In this return from the Insula towards the Durance, it is also possible that Livy might have had in view the road laid down in the Itineraries, as leading from Valentia (Valence) on the Rhone, and near its junction with the Isere, by Dea Vocontiorum (Die), and the Mons Seleucus (Mont Saleon), to Vapincum (Gap), and Eburodunum (Embrun), on the Durance. This road we have before alluded to in examining Cæsar's march over the Mont Genevre, and it would certainly conduct Hannibal through the Vocontii; but the question is, where to find the Tricorii, whom D'Anville would place in the valley of the Drac, a river which joins the Isere near Grenoble, while M. de Valois, without sufficient authority, supposes their capital to be Vapincum or Gap. It must be observed also, that D'Anville founds all his reasoning on this passage of Livy, and that he imagines the northern extremity of the territory of the Vocontii to be here meant. The question is evidently one of great intricacy, and which must be left to geographers to settle.* But by whichever route we

* Cluverius conceives that some vestiges of the ancient name may yet be traced in the town of Cors or Corps, si-

suppose Hannibal, according to Livy, to have reached the Durance, it will be found to agree but little with the description given by Polybius,* of a plain country through which Hannibal passed without molestation, being protected by his cavalry and the friendly escort of the Allobroges. We have also seen, that Polybius expressly stated the country which he then traversed to be that of the Allobroges; so that unless we suppose that denomination to have extended also to the Vocontii, who are mentioned earlier than the Allobroges in the Roman history,† and consequently must have been a distinct people, we shall have here evidence sufficiently decisive, that the routes described by the two historians are perfectly different.

Hannibal having reached Embrun, would there certainly find the Durance, but not such as it is described by the Roman historian, whose exaggerated account of the ravages of this Alpine torrent, and the difficulties attending its passage, can

tuated near the source of the Drac, and is therefore inclined to place this nation in the valley of that river. (Cluver. *Ital. Antiq.* p. 372.) His authority has been followed in the annexed map.

* Polyb. l. iii. c. 50.

† M. Fulvius Flaccus triumphed over the Ligurians and Vocontii, A. U. C. 629; one year before C. Domitius Ænobarbus obtained a similar honour for a victory over the Allobroges. *Fasti. Capit. apud Pigh. Liv. Suppl. Freins.* l. lx. c. 39.

only agree, as M. De Luc well observes, with the latter part of its course, after it has received the waters of the Bleaunne, to its junction with the Rhone at Avignon.

Hannibal, continues Livy,* having crossed the Durance, at length reaches the Alps; we are besides informed, that his line of march from that river lay chiefly through a plain country, and that he accomplished it without molestation. The reader will remember, that these were precisely the circumstances, if we except all mention of the Durance, under which Polybius brought the Carthaginian army to the foot of the Alps; the ἀναβολὴ τῶν Ἀλπεων. But such a description will be found to agree but little with the country to which Livy has now conducted them. In the valley of the Durance they would be engaged in the very midst of the Alps; and if we consider Embrun as the first point where they would find the Durance, they would be within a few miles only of Briançon,† at the foot of Mont Genevre, or the central chain.

The surprise which this circumstance must create in the mind of the reader, who has given

* C. 32. Annibal ab Druentia campestri maxime itinere cum bona pace ad Alpes incolentium ea loca Gallorum peruenit, &c.

† D'Anville estimates the distance at little more than 28 miles. Not. de l'Anc. Gaule, Art. Rama. p. 537. Wesseling, Itiner. vet. Rom. p. 341.

his attention to the subject, is not at all likely to be abated upon finding that Livy here again takes up Polybius's account, at the very point where that historian has brought the Carthaginian army to the foot of the first range of the Alps. The description, however, which Livy gives of the defile, at the entrance of which Hannibal found his progress opposed by the Barbarians, whom he calls mountaineers,* is very different from that of Polybius, which was found to agree so well with the passage of the Mont du Chat. Livy's fine and wintry description can only apply to the central and snowy chain; and even then, will scarcely suit the Mont Genevre, which, though forming part of the primitive range, is in elevation far below the point of eternal snow, not exceeding 950 toises; or 6000 feet above the level of the sea.

Here then we find ourselves entangled and bewildered in difficulties, from which it seems impossible to extract any sense or truth; and we may in fact conclude, that whether we have been correct or not in our explanation of Polybius's account, it is impossible to attach any credit whatever to that of Livy. We must also conclude, that the latter, having adopted a fixed plan, and being determined to bring Hannibal into Italy by the Mont Genevre, has endeavoured to force and

* C. 32. *Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos adparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani.*

twist the narrative of the Greek historian, whom he did not understand, to his views, without considering whether the circumstances of distance, time, or place, would be found to tally. He in fact presents us with a lively example of those writers, whose account of this expedition Polybius* censures as so improbable and void of reason ; and who, like the tragic writers, would want a god or some other machine to extricate their hero from his difficulties.

Let us however proceed in our comparison. Hannibal having occupied the defile during the night, when the mountaineers retired to their homes, is attacked next morning during the descent ; he succeeds, however, in routing his assailants, and finally capturing their city or strong hold,† and the adjoining villages.

Now as we are compelled to place the scene of action on the Mont Genevre, we are consequently obliged to suppose that Hannibal was there opposed by the Segusini, or the people of the valley of Susa, and contiguous to the Caturiges,‡ on whose territory the army would have marched from Embrun

* Polyb. l. iii. c. 47.

† Castellum inde, quod caput ejus regionis erat, viculosque circumjectos capit.

‡ Ptolemy would indeed give Briançon to the Segusini, but D'Anville contends with reason for its belonging to the Caturiges. Not. De l'Anc. Gaul. art. Brigantio and Caturiges, p. 174—215, 16.

to Briançon. The town which fell into the hands of the victor, could therefore be no other than Cezanne, at the foot of the mountain on the Italian side, though it never could have been of sufficient importance to deserve the title of "caput regionis;" nor could the wretched valley in which it stands ever have furnished the supplies, which must have been required to subsist so numerous an army. If Hannibal from this place continued his march, as he naturally would along the Doria Susana, he would have reached Turin in six days at least, without meeting with any other mountain to obstruct his passage; this cannot, however, be the route which Livy has in view, since he follows* Polybius in nearly all the circumstances which that writer applied to Hannibal's march after having passed the first defile, and which we found to agree so well with the passage of the Little St. Bernard. Let us, however, suppose that the Carthaginian army would attempt to proceed by the Col de Sestrieres, as the Roman armies certainly did, before a free passage was allowed them through Cottius's dominions,† we shall still find a perfect disagreement between that route and the Roman historian's account. Cezanne is situated at the

* C. 34. *Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium, ut inter montana populum, ibi non bello aperto, sed suis artibus, fraude, deinde insidiis est prope circumventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Pœnum veniunt, &c.*

† See the 1st Chapter.

foot of the Col de Sestrieres as well as the Mont Genevre; so that a person setting out from thence, might easily pass the former mountain in one day; whereas, from Livy's account, Hannibal was nine days in reaching the summit of the Alps,* from the town he captured; so that it is impossible on either supposition to reconcile Livy's narrative with truth.

Yet has it been contended, that Livy could never have meant to place the first defile, or the entrance of the Alps, at the Mont Genevre, but that we must look for this entrance of the Alps before the army reached the Durance. Now this supposition is entirely contradicted by the text of the author, and can only be admitted by implying a manifest error in his narrative: still we will allow for a moment, that Hannibal might have been attacked by the Caturigest† on his crossing into their country from that of the Tricorii and that he reached the Mont Genevre on the ninth day. We shall yet be able to shew that this mountain can no more be conceived to be the second than it was the first passage: that it differs, in short, entirely from Livy's own description, and

* C. 35. Nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est, per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus, aut, ubi fides iis non esset, temere initæ valles a conjectantibus iter, faciebant.

† This is the supposition of General de Vaudoncourt, in his *Hist. des Campagnes d'Hannibal*, Milan, 1812.

from that of Polybius. Having visited this mountain as well as the Little St. Bernard, during the summer of 1819, with a view to this question, we shall here present the reader with the result of our observations.

The town of Briançon is situated in a valley from which three others branch off in different directions; that of the Guisanne to the N. W., the fertile valley of Neuwache to the N., and the valley of the Durance, which descends from Mont Genevre, to the S. W. The foot of this mountain is little more than two miles from the town; the valley that leads to it is at present defended by the numerous and formidable forts of Briançon, but it is too wide to admit of an army suffering from any attack made from the heights on either side with such missiles as the mountaineers could have used. The present beautiful road over the Mont Genevre, constructed by French engineers under the reign of Buonaparte, ascends the right bank of the Durance; the old road could be traced for a considerable way on the left bank, but still it would be too remote from the mountains on that side to render any attack from that quarter at all formidable. The mountains themselves are too high and difficult of access to favour this supposition: in fine, this valley is much too considerable to answer the notion conveyed by the terms *φαραγγά τινα δύσβατον καὶ κρημνώδη*, in Polybius,* or

* Polyb. l. iii. c. 52.

the "*angustiore viam ex parte alterâ subjectam jugo insuper imminenti*," in Livy.*

The modern road runs for some time in a N. direction, towards the valley of Neuwache, and then winds round the mountain which separates this valley from that of the Durance. The old road keeps constantly on the left bank of the river, which is here, however, but a very inconsiderable stream. The ascent on that side seems by no means abrupt, and presents no difficult passage or defile, till within a short distance of the summit, where the heights close in on both sides considerably, and form a passage not unlike that of the Mont du Chat. The summit itself is a long and wide plain, tolerably well cultivated in parts. The large village of Bourg Mont Genevre is situated nearly in the centre: the heights themselves on either side of the plain do not rise to a thousand feet above its level, and are covered to the top with abundance of large fir trees. This description, it will easily be seen, essentially differs from Polybius's account of the high summit on which Hannibal arrived on the ninth day. We are there told, that the summit was so far from being cultivated, that it was destitute of all vegetation; and unless a great change in the climate and temperature of the Alps be supposed to have taken place since that time, this must be allowed to pre-

* Liv. l. xxi. c. 34.

sent a strong argument against Livy's hypothesis. The temperature indeed of some vallies, may have been improved to a certain degree by superior cultivation; in others also, where the snows and glaciers advance and recede at stated periods, like the ebb and flow of the sea, some variation may well be conceived; but these effects are but partial, and the general features of Alpine scenery and vegetation can have undergone but little change since the days of Polybius; for that author, when combating the false notions and exaggerated accounts which certain writers gave of the Alps, states, that even in those early times they were inhabited by many and numerous tribes. And if the present state of the Mont Genevre differs from the account given by Polybius, of the summit of the Alps, much more does it vary from Livy, who describes not only the summit, but all parts of these mountains as covered with snow, and stiff with frost.

The plain of the Mont Genevre is about three miles in length, and at its termination on the Italian side the descent is very rapid, and in zig-zag down a steep ravine, which affords a passage for the waters of the Doria Susana. The old road still keeps on the same side, which becomes now the right bank of the river. This part of the descent is known by the name of the Tourniquet; and supposing this to represent the difficulties encountered by the Carthaginian army previous to

their reaching the point rendered impassable by the falling away of the road and old snow, we shall find ourselves at Cezanne, without meeting a single spot which could agree with the last mentioned circumstance. Upon repeated inquiries, indeed, we invariably received the same answer, that there was not one point on which snow was known to remain all the year round. The valley of the Doria is indeed so wide, even long before reaching Cezanne, that it renders such a supposition altogether untenable.

We must also observe, that from no part of the passage can a view of Italy be obtained; for the chain of the Col de Sestrieres entirely blocks up the valley of Fenestrelles to the east, while Mont Cenis and the mountains of Maurienne equally obstruct the view to the north, by the valley of Exilles and Susa. At Cezanne the descent terminates; and from thence to Turin, there is not one point which would present any difficulty, much less where we might expect to find in autumn snow of the preceding year. Though the valley of Cezanne is cultivated in some degree, it is altogether poor and barren, nor at all to be compared with the environs of St. Didier in the Val d'Aoste. As far as Exilles, indeed, there are no pastures, the river Doria covering the whole plain with stones or morass. There yet remain a few circumstances to be pointed out, in which Livy's narrative differs from that of Polybius. Of the story of the vinegar used in softening

rocks,* it is difficult to say whence it derived its origin, and whether there is in reality any foundation for it: certain it is, that Polybius never leads us to suppose that such an expedient was resorted to by Hannibal. It is quite improbable that the Carthaginian army should have had any great supply of that acid; or if they had, that it could produce any effect on primitive rock. There is also a manifest contradiction in this story of Livy; for while he tells us that Hannibal made an immense fire to heat the rock, he forgets that elsewhere he has informed us that the summit of the Alps is naked, and destitute of trees.† M. De Luc also very justly notices another strange error into which Livy has fallen with respect to this rock, when he represents the road as having fallen away, and formed a precipice of a thousand feet high; whereas in Polybius this slip of the road is clearly stated to have taken place not in respect to height, but length.‡ By this alteration, the operation which Hannibal's soldiers had to perform, and

* C. 37. *Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, quum cædendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus dejectis detruncatisque, struem ingentem lignorum faciunt; eamque (quum et vis venti apta faciendo igni coorta esset) succendunt, ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt.*

† C. 37. *Nuda enim fere cacumina sunt, et, si quid est pabuli, obruunt nives.*

‡ C. 36. *Natura locus jam ante præceps, recenti lapsu terræ in pedum mille admodum altitudinem abruptus erat.*

which is so naturally stated in the Greek historian, in Livy becomes absurd and unintelligible.

Livy states besides, that Hannibal allowed his troops three days rest, after their fatigues during this work;* and yet he allows it is generally agreed, that the Carthaginian army performed their march through the Alps in fifteen days, when, by his own calculation, the number of days amounts to nineteen.

It must, however, be remarked that the same inconsistency, as it should seem, equally attaches to Polybius; and that the only difference, in fact, between them, as to the days spent among the Alps, is not in their number, but in the manner in which they are said to have been passed by the army. Polybius's three additional days are spent in reaching the plains from the last difficult pass; according to Livy, they are days of rest, allowed to the army after their fatigues. He also represents the Carthaginians as having been exposed to many errors and wanderings, from the treachery of their guides or the rashness of their leaders. In this circumstance he again differs from Polybius, whose silence on so important a point cannot but be construed as a refutation of the fact.

Livy having finally brought Hannibal into Italy, expresses his surprise that it should ever

* *Ibi jumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data triduo. Ibid.*

have been matter of doubt in what direction Hannibal crossed the Alps.* He with reason rejects the popular opinion, which considered the Great St. Bernard as that passage, from the false idea of its having derived the name of Mons Penninus from the term Poeni, when it evidently was so called from the worship of the Celtic god Pen. But his reasons for rejecting the opinion of L. Cælius Antipater, who affirmed, in his history of the second Punic war, that Hannibal had passed by the Cremonis jugum, are not equally valid. The authority of this early historian constitutes indeed a very material feature in the present inquiry. From what has been said of him in the remarks on the early history of the Alps, it is evident that his testimony ought not easily to be rejected or overlooked. From the period at which he wrote, he possessed means of information which alone would entitle his statement to a degree of

* C. 38. Id quum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi, quam Alpes transierit: et vulgo credere, Penino atque inde nomen et jugo Alpium inditum, transgressum. Cælius, per Cremonis jugum dicit transisse: qui ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos, sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent. Nec verisimile est, ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique, quæ ad Peninum ferunt, obsepta gentibus semigermanis fuissent. neque, Hercule, montibus his (si quem forte id movit) ab transitu Pœnorum ullo Veragri, incolæ jugi ejus, norunt nomen inditum; sed ab eo, quem, in summo sacratum vertice, Peninum montani appellant.

attention very superior to that claimed by Livy, since the latter quotes no authority whatever. So that even if we were to set aside the testimony of Polybius as indeterminate, on account of his not naming the pass of the Alps which Hannibal crossed, we might rest the cause of the Little St. Bernard with safety on the evidence which Livy himself affords us by adducing this account of Cælius. Livy seems to allow that this passage might have been frequented at that time, but maintains that it could not have been that of Hannibal, as it would not have brought him directly upon the Taurini, but the Libuan Gauls. "Now it is agreed," says he, "on all hands, that he arrived among the Taurini after crossing the Alps." Certainly not, according to Polybius, who states positively, that having refreshed his troops by a few days' halt, he entered boldly into the country of the Insubres. Now the Libui are reckoned by Ptolemy* under the Insubres, so that Polybius and Cælius may very well be conceived to agree in this particular. Livy, however, rejects the account of Cælius on the authority of L. Cincius Alimentus,†

* Ptol. Geog.

† C. 38. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor me moveret—ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum jumentorum amisisse, in Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat, in Italiam degresso.

an early Roman historian, who became Hannibal's prisoner, and had an opportunity of hearing that general state, that from the passage of the Rhone to his arrival among the Taurini, he had lost 36,000 men, besides a vast number of horses and beasts of burthen. However confused and perplexed the passage undoubtedly is, the meaning seems evidently to be, that Hannibal's whole loss, from the time of his crossing the Rhone to his arrival among the Taurini, amounted to the number above stated. Now it is well remarked by Gibbon,* that "Hannibal wished to give an idea of the losses he had sustained in passing the mountains, in consequence of battles, cold, and fatigue. He begins, therefore, from his crossing the Rhone, and ends at his arrival in the territory of the Taurini; since it was really in their country, and by taking their capital, that he began his operations in Italy. Their territory, therefore, formed the limit between things totally distinct—his losses in Italy and those in the Alps. It was not necessary that the country of the Taurini should be the first place of Italy into which he descended from the Alps; it sufficed that it was the first where he fought a battle. The former explanation is adopted by Livy, but the latter appears to me very capable of being defended. It deprives

* *Miscell. Works*, vol. ii. p. 185.

“ the Latin historian of what appears to him a
“ decisive proof; it even turns this decisive proof
“ against himself, by laying open the source of
“ his mistake. The argument upon which Livy
“ builds is not only refuted, but destroyed; and
“ the authority of Polybius subsists alone and un-
“ rivalled.”

It appears from Livy's account, if we leave out all mention of what he has copied from Polybius, and read it with reference to itself alone, that Hannibal crossed the Rhone at Roquemaure; that he then, frightened by the Romans, marched up to the Island of the Allobroges; that he then returned through the Vocontii and Tricorii till he reached the Durance, at a distance of nine days' march from the summit of the Alps; and that he then crossed the Mont Genevre, and descended among the Taurini. This marching and counter-marching would alone be sufficient to make us suspect his accuracy; but when we find, which we shall do upon comparing the two narratives, that he follows Polybius step by step to the Insula, then drops him during the return to the Durance, and then takes him up again in the same place where he had left off, beginning afresh from the Durance, as Polybius does from the Isere; that after this he follows him word for word, with the exception of his own exaggeration, through a country which it is clear he knew nothing about, since the country described by Polybius is as different as possible

from the road between the Durance and the Mont Genevre; and when finally he brings him out with an enfeebled army among a hostile people; what can we conclude but that the Latin author is not only totally unworthy of credit, but that he was also so ignorant of geography and of the country he was describing, as not to be able even to make out a credible or intelligible account of his own hypothesis? The exaggerations with respect to the appearance of the Alps; the descent of a whole army, with baggage and elephants, down a precipice one thousand feet high; the flat country described as existing in the most rugged, barren, and mountainous part of the Alps; the misstatement as to the character of the Durance, ought in themselves to make us reject his authority; and, at all events, he ought not for a moment to be placed in competition with an author, who, besides being totally free from all the faults of his rival, has a just claim to our belief, from having himself visited the countries which he so accurately describes.*

* M. Larausa, in his "*Histoire Critique*," which we shall examine hereafter, endeavours to reconcile the account of Livy and Polybius with each other, by converting the Durance into the Drac, and by altering entirely the hitherto received situation of the Tricastini, the Vocontii, and the Tricorii, but without any authority whatever.

CHAP. IX.

EXAMINATION OF M. LETRONNE'S THEORY.

IN the last chapter we have endeavoured to shew, that the account of Livy, although copied almost literally in many parts from that of Polybius, was on the whole quite inconsistent with it, and that this inconsistency was produced by the determination of the Roman historian to carry the army over the Mont Genevre. And it seems clear, that if Livy had not written at all upon the subject, the facts mentioned by Polybius, first that the army marched along the river a distance of 175 miles, till they arrived at the foot of the Alps; and, secondly, that they descended among the Insu-brians, would be quite sufficient, if not to establish the passage by the Little St. Bernard, at least to exclude that by the Mont Genevre.

As, however, Livy, an author of so great, and, in many respects, so deserved a reputation, has positively stated this latter to be the road which Hannibal followed, it becomes necessary for writers

upon the subject to choose between the two authorities; and we have, we trust, given sufficient reasons why that of Polybius should be preferred. Various attempts, however, have been made by French writers to reconcile the two accounts, and on these we shall make some observations, beginning with that of M. Letronne, a scholar of reputation, who published a critique on M. De Luc's work, in the *Journal des Savans*, for January 1819. It may previously be remarked that all the works to which we shall allude were written in answer to the first edition of M. De Luc's treatise, in which that gentleman certainly laid himself open to some animadversions. His weak points, were, however, strengthened, and his errors corrected in a second edition, much enlarged, which was published in 1825, and to which no answer has yet appeared.

Mons. L. maintains, in the first place, that Livy is in all respects quite correct in his account of this transaction; and he quotes the passage in Strabo, to which we have already alluded,* in order to prove that Polybius had, in his own writings, actually stated that the Carthaginian army passed by the Mont Genevre; or, which amounts almost to the same thing, that they had descended amongst the Taurini. Enough has been said in the first chapter to shew, that the words in this passage,

* In the First Chapter.

ἐν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν are an interpolation of Strabo's, and are not to be considered as the original words of Polybius; and even if our reasoning on this point should not be conclusive, the words are at all events doubtful; whereas the κατ'ῆρε τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰσόμερων ἔθνος, in the fifty-sixth chapter, are most decidedly the very words of Polybius, extracted from his own writings, and, therefore, as such, to be depended upon. M. Letronne, however, who has attacked M. De Luc very severely for his omission of the former passage, himself passes over the latter one without any mention whatever, and prefers taking his author at secondhand in Strabo, to reading him in his own words. Although it is far from our intention to charge M. L. with bad faith, it certainly behoved him to be extremely careful not to lay himself open to the charge of a wilful omission of the text of his author, at the very moment when he was accusing M. De Luc of the very same fault. It seems, besides, altogether to have escaped him, that Polybius in his own story mentions the attack upon Turin, as having taken place long after Hannibal had reached the plains, and not till the army had completely recovered from their fatigues. So far indeed is he from having noticed this fact in Polybius, that he positively quotes him as his authority for saying, that the Taurini were the first people whom Hannibal met with on his descent from the Alps; and this authority he finds in the

sixtieth chapter : " D'ailleurs cette circonstance*
 " est tout-à-fait en harmonie avec ce que Polybe
 " raconte plus bas ; savoir, que les Taurini furent
 " les premiers peuples qu'Annibal rencontra à la
 " descente des Alpes."†

If by this violence committed on the text of one of his authors, M. L. was in any degree assisted in his hypothesis, some excuse might be found for him; but the admission of his premises only throws him into much greater difficulties for the purpose of arriving at his conclusion, as we shall find on examining the manner in which he pursues his construction of the Greek text.

After allowing, with M. De Luc, that the army crossed the Rhone near Roquemaure,‡ and agreeing entirely as to the situation of the *Insula Allobrogum*, he arrives at the banks of

* The circumstance of the passage in Strabo, where he says that the army passed by the Mont Genevre.

† Polyb. l. iii. c. 60.

‡ Notwithstanding the passage at Roquemaure, M. L. holds with Livy that the subsequent march to the northward was made for the purpose of running away from the Roman army: and he again quotes Polybius in support of this opinion. As it might be difficult to discover the passage from which this support is to be obtained, it may be right to state, that the whole authority is contained in the word *ἵκναι*; which important word, according to M. L., has been hitherto neglected by translators. " Le mot *ἵκναι* a été passé par les traducteurs ; il importe cependant, parcequ'il montre avec quelle hâte Annibal vouloit s'éloigner des Romains." *Journal des Savans*, Jan. 1819, p. 26.

the Isere on the fourth day : here, however, he stops, and does not cross that river ; and for this also he has the authority of Polybius, ἦκε πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην Νῆσον, and a little further, πρὸς ἣν ἐφικόμενος, which means that he only came to the Island, and did not enter it. As, however, the words which immediately follow, καταλαβὼν ἐν αὐτῇ δύο ἀδελφούς, give us to understand that the operations in which Hannibal assisted the elder of the contending princes, took place within the Island, he is of opinion that they were performed by a detachment of the main army, which was sent for that purpose across the Isere ; but for this opinion he does not produce any authority. Now, with great deference to M. Letronne, we conceive that the last-mentioned Greek words clearly point out that the whole army crossed over into the Island ; and from the whole of the subsequent passage we collect that the co-operation was effected, not by a detachment, but by the whole army.* It seems difficult to understand why both M. Letronne and M. Larauza should insist on keeping the army on the south side of the Isere. It was not surely more difficult to cross that river than the Rhone itself, an operation which had already been successfully performed ; and as they both

* No mention is made by M. Letronne of the assistance afforded to the army by the prince of the Allobroges, nor of the protection given by him to them while they were marching through his territories.

allow that a detachment was sent across, why could not the whole army have passed? Why, also, should Polybius, who is on no occasion apt to enlarge in his descriptions, give a detailed account of a district, and of the operations carried on in it, when those operations could have had no influence upon the direct march of the army? Why, also, should Hannibal, if he had determined on remaining to the south of the Isere, interfere in any manner in transactions which were taking place to the north of it, and, by that interference not only delay his march considerably, but hazard the very existence of his army, and the whole success of his enterprise, by giving the Roman army time to come up and attack and defeat him in detail, half of his troops being on the south side of the Isere, and the other half taking part in the civil war on the north side; but, in addition to the passage already cited from Polybius, *καταλαβὼν*, &c. we are expressly told in the enumeration of distances, that the 1400 stadia which existed between the passage of the Rhone and the ascent of the Alps, were to be measured "along the river," *παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν*, &c. Against this last argument, however, M. Letronne is prepared with an answer, which is as follows. "It is true," he says, "that Hannibal had hitherto marched up the Rhone, and the words *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*, which immediately followed the name of that river, could apply to nothing else; but

when Polybius was describing the Island, the Isere was the river last mentioned: by parity of reasoning, therefore, *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*, now applies to the Isere." In this idea, however, Professor Schweighæuser had already anticipated him in a note to the third book of Polybius, c. 50. vol. v. p. 596. The learned Professor, however, at the end of his note, which is a long one, finally abandons this idea, because he plainly sees that Polybius has expressly stated, c. 39, Hannibal to have marched 1400 stadia along the Rhone, till he came to the Alps. But according to M. Letronne, the expression of Polybius, *Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσεως τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πορευομένοις παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν*, implies only that this was the general direction of the route at the first setting out, and not that the 1400 stadia were to be measured along the river. Hannibal, therefore, does not cross the Isere, but marches along its banks on the south side, in order to complete the 100 miles which are to be expended before he can reach the Alps. Here, however, M. L. forgets that Polybius positively states the army to have marched these 100 miles through a plain country, *ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις*, c. 50. Now, such a country, between Valence and Grenoble, it is quite impossible to find. Some of the highest of the secondary chains of the Alps take their rise immediately to the south of the Isere, and very much lower down the river than Grenoble; and, in fact, that town, which ought, according to M.

L.'s march, to be in the midst of plains, is, as every body who has seen it well knows, surrounded by some of the highest mountains in France. There never was any Roman road on the south bank of that part of the Isere between Valence and Grenoble, and the road which now exists there is barely passable, and nothing more than a mere communication from one village to another. It is indeed only laid down in maps of a very large scale. The great road runs to the north of the river, and the Roman road only joined it at Moirans. But even allowing M. Letronne to march through an impassable country along the banks of that ποταμός, which was the Rhone, and which he has now converted into the Isere, this march, if he keeps close to his river, must at last conduct him to the Little St. Bernard by the valley of the Gresivaudan, which runs from Montmeillan to Grenoble, a valley so rich, and so broad and magnificent, that if Hannibal had once arrived in it, he never could have abandoned it. So that if his original intention had been to march along the Isere, it is also clear that it was equally his intention to go by the Little St. Bernard.

M. L. is therefore very little advanced in his undertaking, and it would have been very difficult for him to have escaped out of this strait, had he not fortunately found the river Drac just before his arrival at Grenoble; which river, as it comes from the southward, would, if followed up to its source,

at length put the army into the right road to the Mont Genevre. The ποταμός therefore, which from the Rhone had become the Isere, is now to undergo another change, and to be called the Drac. "Il remonta ce torrent (le Drac) que sa "largeur dût lui faire prendre pour la même rivière "que l'Isere." That is to say, Hannibal, guided by the people of the country,* who knew the roads, follows the Isere as long as it is impracticable, and as soon as it becomes easy, he abandons it, and marches up the banks of the equally impracticable Drac, along the lower part of which there is no road whatever, either ancient or modern. Finally, the entrance of the Alps is placed at St. Bonnet, a small town near the source of the Drac, and on the great road from Gap to Grenoble. It is necessary for M. L. to make this the entrance of the Alps, because his 100 miles terminate here; for as to its being really the entrance of the Alps, he might as well apply that term to Briançon itself, the one being situated in as mountainous a country as the other. Polybius has stated, that the army marched through the territory of the Allobroges. Now though it is quite notorious, that this nation never extended itself along the Drac to the southward, M. Letronne says, that as in Polybius's time nobody

* We say guided by the people of the country, because as he had not yet arrived at the foot of the Alps, according to M. L. he must still have been accompanied by the troops of the prince of the Allobroges, whom he had reinstated in his capital.

knew any thing about them, they might as well have lived on the Drac as any where else. In this manner has Polybius been reconciled with Livy; but putting the latter entirely out of the question, is it possible for a moment to admit an explanation of the Greek historian, so utterly contrary to all rules of grammar, as well as of common sense. Let us now see how the inconsistencies of M. L.'s favourite author, Livy, are accounted for. And first with respect to the "ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit," the vexata quæstio of the commentators. Nothing is easier; ad lævam refers to the position of the historian himself, "on auroit dû sentir que cet historien en disant 'flexit ad lævam,' parle relativement à sa position en Italie, ce qui est assez ordinaire aux auteurs anciens."* But allowing Hannibal to turn to Livy's left hand, how is he, according to M. Letronne's hypothesis, to arrive among the Tricastini, who are to be found in the neighbourhood of St. Paul-Trois-Châteaux on the Rhone? From this situation, in defiance of all authorities ancient and modern, they are brought up to the N. E. and placed on the Drac and Isere. No difficulty now occurs; we march, still following Livy across the Vocontii and Tricorii, and arrive at the foot of the Alps at St. Bonnet. Here, however, we ought to get to the Durance, at which river when we have arrived, we are, according to

* Journ. des Savans, p. 33.

Livy to pass through a flat country for some days, and then finally to reach the Alps; and as this difficulty might have finally vanquished M. L. he has wisely omitted to notice it at all; he therefore marches to the Mont Genevre, and descends by Susa upon Rivoli. After this examination, we may without any unfairness quote M. L.'s own words to M. De Luc. "Ce n'est pas par de telles raisons qu'on peut se flatter d'éclaircir définitivement un point d'histoire."^{*} The result indeed of our observations appears to be, that M. L. is quite wrong in his interpretation of Polybius, and still more so in that of Livy; so that the only point in which he makes his two authors agree, is in their common variance from his own hypothesis. In consequence of the article in the *Journal des Savans* for January 1819, M. De Luc published an answer to M. Letronne, which is remarkable for its clearness of argument, and its temperance; to this M. L. replied in the *Journal des Savans*, for Dec. 1819. In this reply he discovers, that the snow, which had remained, according to Polybius, unmelted during the whole summer, was in reality only the snow which had fallen about a month before; and he assures us "que les Carthaginois purent la prendre pour de la vieille neige restée là depuis l'année précédente." M. L. also treats all the accessory proofs, such as the

* *Journ. des Savans*, p. 29. Jan. 1819.

plate of silver and the λευκόπετρον,* and the tradition respecting the "via Annibalis," with great contempt, and he even furnishes M. De Luc gratuitously with another fact of the discovery of some medals supposed to be Carthaginian, at Aoste. Finally, he says, that as all these little facts agree equally well with the passage by the Great St. Bernard, which is manifestly absurd, they cannot possibly be of any importance when applied to the Little St. Bernard. These accessories, however, are merely brought in as corroborative of the general argument, and no weight could possibly be attached to them if they stood alone. General Melville and M. De Luc may perhaps have given rather too much importance to them; but if they were thrown on one side entirely, the main argument founded on the text of Polybius, on the concurrence of distances, and on the moral as well as physical probabilities, which all unite in favour of the Little St. Bernard, would remain completely uninjured and unchanged.

We cannot, after all, take our leave of M. Letronne, (who although blind to the errors of his own route, has shewn much quickness in detecting the absurdities of others,) without thanking him for taking the trouble of refuting General F. G. de

* M. L. observes with respect to this word, that it occurs frequently, "ce mot, qui revient plusieurs fois." It only recurs in the tenth book already quoted, and never again in Polybius.

Vaudoncourt, who has abandoned the Rhone altogether, and M. Le Comte Fortia d'Urban, who, because he possessed some property near Orange, places the *Insula Allobrogum* close to that town, and calls the Eygues the Isaras. It remains for us to say a few words concerning the Chevalier de Folard, the Marquis de St. Simon, and our countryman Mr. Whitaker, who has carried the army over the Great St. Bernard. We must also notice the hypothesis of M. Larauza, who is supported by Napoleon, in his preference of the Mont Cenis, and this we shall do in the following chapter.

CHAP. X.

EXAMINATION OF FOLARD, ST. SIMON, WHITAKER,
AND LARAUZA. CONCLUSION.

THE Chevalier de Folard, having determined, it seems, to lead Hannibal by the Cottian Alp, or Mont Genevre, and yet being compelled to follow Polybius, the author he was commenting upon, as far as this hypothesis would allow, has struck out for the Carthaginian army a route which no one has ever, I believe, contemplated but himself, and which it is only necessary to hear described in order to be satisfied, if not of its utter impracticability, at least of its discrepancy from the accounts of both the original historians whom we have examined. The Chevalier seems, indeed, to disdain all the rules of criticism, and wishes his readers to understand that he means to be guided solely by his knowledge of the country through which he supposes the Carthaginian army to have passed; a knowledge which several campaigns in the Alps and Piedmont had furnished him with. He supposes Hannibal to have arrived at Romans, on the

Isere, at some distance from its junction with the Rhone, without having any intention of crossing that river. He easily gets rid of the difficulty which the march of 800 stadia further up the Rhone would place in his way, by rejecting that passage in Polybius altogether, as a blunder of some copier. He styles these 800 stadia “une imagination, une faute des copistes, dont Polybe se moqueroit s’il mettoit la tête hors de son tombeau.”*

It is impossible to argue according to the rules of criticism, with one who so boldly rejects them all ; but we will be content to dispute the question on M. de Folard’s own ground, and laying aside both Polybius and Livy, to debate the point from our own knowledge of this singular route. The Chevalier supposes Hannibal to have followed the right bank of the Isere as far as Grenoble, there to have crossed the Drac, and followed this river till its junction with the Romanche. Hannibal, according to M. de Folard, now leaves the Drac, and follows this third river in its course through the mountainous country of Oysans, the territory of the ancient Ucenii. Thus much, indeed, it is fair to state in favour of the Chevalier’s opinion, that the route he has adopted, however difficult and

* *Histoire de Polybe, traduite du Grec par Dom Vincent Thuillier, avec un Commentaire par M. de Folard, &c. tom. iv. p. 73. Amsterdam, 1729.*

improbable for an army to take, is yet distinctly marked in the *Tabula Theodosiana* as a road known to the Romans, and used by them.*

As far as the Bourg d'Oysans, though the Romanche is confined between high and perpendicular rocks, the road is yet sufficiently good and practicable; the Bourg itself is situated in a charming plain or *bazon*, which the receding mountains allow to extend to some distance on each bank of the river. But about two miles further up the river, and a little beyond the point where it receives the impetuous Vençon, which issues from the valley of Venos, the bed of the Romanche is closely confined between exceedingly high and rugged mountains, which scarcely afford a passage to the waters of the roaring torrent. The old road

* This road (which is, however, not mentioned in the *Antonine Itinerary*, nor in the *Itinerar. Hierosol.*) leads from Vienne, by Cularo, (Grenoble,) to the *Alpis Cottia*. The stations, which have been marked in the annexed map, are Catorissium, (Bourg d'Oysans,) Mellosedum, (Mizouin, or Mont de Lens,) Durotincum, (Villars d'Arène,) Stabatia, (Monastier de Briançon.) The whole distance, in the *Itineraries*, amounts to 42 miles; but this falls short of the real distance by at least 20 miles. D'Anville is therefore inclined to suppose, that some station has been omitted between Cularo and Catorissium. See D'Anv. *Not. de l'Anc. Gaule*, Art. Catoria-sium. The entrance of the Alps being placed at the Mont de Lens, we should have from thence to Briançon about 32 miles, from Briançon to Turin 65 miles, making a total of 97 or 100 miles; which falls short of Polybius's distance by 50 miles.

here left the river to scale the almost perpendicular heights of the Mont de Lens, being cut, as Mr. Folard allows, like a staircase in the rock ; and was even then so difficult and impracticable, that it was thought proper within a few years to carry the road, after incredible pains and labour, close along the banks of the river. This astonishing enterprise, which is one of the last great works performed under the reign of the late French Emperor, is but little known, not in this country only, but even in France ; yet in the boldness of the undertaking, the sublime grandeur of its scenery, the extent of the excavations which have been made, it surpasses both the pass of Bramante in the road to the Mont Cenis, and that of Gondo on the Simplon.*

The old road seems clearly to have been a Roman work, of which several traces are yet distinctly seen on the Mont de Lens ; this is probably the Mellosedum of the Itineraries ; but before this the valley never could have been practicable for an army. It is, however, by this pass that M. de Folard supposes Hannibal to have led his troops ; nay, farther, he conceives that this was the route which the Gauls had constantly followed in their expeditions into Italy. The difficulties, however,

* The route here described is laid down, in the Guide de l'Empire, as the second road from Lyons to Turin, by Grenoble and Briançon. Buonaparte meant it for a military road, as affording the shortest communication with Italy.

of M. de Folard's route only begin with the Mont de Lens ; for the valley of the Romanche, beyond that passage, presents nothing but a scene of the utmost wildness and desolation ; mountains of slate and schist, that crumble into ruins, leave not a trace of vegetation ; and behind these rise lofty peaks covered with glaciers, from which numberless torrents descend into the Romanche, and fill the bed of that river with rubbish and huge fragments of rock. The Romanche rises at the foot of the Col du Lautaret, a pass, the height of which is little inferior to that of the Little St. Bernard, and much above that of the Mont Genevre. It is here that M. de Folard supposes Hannibal to have been attacked for the first time ; but whence these desolate regions could have supplied a number of inhabitants sufficient for this enterprise, cannot well be devised : nor does the valley of the Guisanne, on the other side of the Col du Lautaret, contain any town which can be supposed to represent that which Hannibal took after having defeated the Allobroges.

It will not be necessary to follow M. de Folard any further ; for, setting aside the impossibility of conducting an army, with baggage and elephants, through such a tract of country as that between Bourg d'Oysans and Briançon, (an impossibility which must strike all who have travelled over it,) we have the additional difficulty of supporting this army in a country which is totally destitute of

inhabitants and of supplies of any description; besides which, the distances disagree altogether with those given by Polybius; and the march up the Isere, instead of up the Rhone, together with the descent among the Taurini instead of the Insubres, sufficiently enable us to set aside altogether this hypothesis. We may, however, notice in addition the strange wanderings by which M. de Folard leads Hannibal over the Col de Sestrieres, and also the Col de la Fenêtre, for the express purpose, as it seems, of bringing the Carthaginian army to the heights of Balbotet,* which he much insists on, as being the only spot from which a view of the plain can be obtained. But is this a sufficient reason for bringing an army out of the track which common sense would point out to them; since they had only to follow the river, which descends from the Col de Sestrieres, in order to arrive in the open plains? Those who would lead the Carthaginian army to the peak of Rocca Melone, or the summit of Monte Viso, would have as much reason on their side. Let us hear the Marquis de St. Simon, who maintains the latter opinion:

“ Quoique je ne sache pas précisément,” says

* Mr. Dutens, in his *Itinerary*, also states, that he had been repeatedly assured by Piedmontese officers, that the open plain could be seen from no other situation. Gen. de Vaudoncourt has in this point followed the authority of Folard. *Hist. des Camp. d'Annibal.*

the Marquis, " quelle route Annibal s'est ouvert
" pour arriver à la sommité des Alpes, je ne le
" perds pas plus de vue qu'un chasseur qui des
" hauteurs laisse sa meute parcourir les routes
" et les fourrées d'un bois à l'entrée de laquelle
" il l'a conduite; il ne la voit plus, mais il l'en-
" tend au loin, et la rejoint aussitôt qu'elle quitte
" les fonds. Je me retrouve de même avec An-
" nibal sur le Mont Viso, sans m'inquiéter de
" tous les détours ou la fraude de ses guides;
" son peu de confiance en eux et son manque de
" connoissance de l'intérieur des montagnes, a
" dû le faire errer pendant neuf jours."*

M. De Luc has bestowed one entire chapter on the refutation of Mr. Whitaker, who, in two large volumes 8vo. has taken much pains to shew that Hannibal went by the Great St. Bernard. M. De Luc's objections to this writer's hypothesis are so decisive and convincing, that it is scarcely necessary to say any thing further on the subject. It is strange, that, with the assistance of General Melville's notes and observations to direct him in his researches, Mr. Whitaker should have preferred to support an opinion which has not one valid argument or plausible reason to recommend it. He seems

* Hist. de la Guerre des Alpes, ou Camp. de 1744. par M. le Marquis de St. Simon, Aide-de-Camp du Prince de Conti. Amsterdam, 1770.

to have thought that learning, of which it cannot be denied that he has given proof, was to supply the place of personal observation, and that wild theories could supersede that knowledge which must be derived from experience and judicious investigation. M. Whitaker is often so blinded by the predilections with which his hypothesis has inspired him, that when he finds the text of Polybius at variance with it, he does not scruple to throw all the blame on the historian, and to charge him with committing gross errors and mistakes.

By the help of such reasoning Mr. W. has little difficulty in proving, that by the *Insula Allobrogum* is meant a little island on which part of Lyons stands, but which, to other eyes, bears little resemblance to the Delta of Egypt, as mentioned by Polybius. It is thus that the *Druentia* of Livy is metamorphosed into the *Arve*, and the entrance of the Alps placed at Martigny, without any indication of the route by which Hannibal was to reach that place, which is not at the entrance, but in the heart of those mountains. We presume not to follow Mr. W. in his strange peregrinations through the valley of Bagnes: this is a labyrinth from which no clue could possibly extricate us. Any one who has visited that valley, rendered so unfortunately celebrated by the late dreadful inundation of the Drance, must be satisfied that

nothing under a demi-god could disengage Hannibal from thence, when once involved in those pathless and desolate regions. But the strongest objection, after all, arises from the computation of distances, of which Mr. W. takes no account whatever. From Lyons to Geneva, along the Rhone, there are 120 miles; from thence to Martigny, 80: in all, full 200 miles, which is more than double the distance that Polybius gives. From Martigny to Ivrea, by the Great St. Bernard, there are not 100 miles, while the passage of the Alps themselves, in Polybius, is enumerated at 150. This final argument, to say nothing of the loss of time which would have been incurred by going so much to the north, and the impossibility of carrying the troops over so great a distance in the time mentioned by Polybius, is at once conclusive against Mr. Whitaker, as well as all those writers who have inclined to the passage of the Great St. Bernard.

Since the publication of our first edition, the passage by the Mont Cenis has been much canvassed; so much so as to have induced us to devote a few pages to the examination of this road; although, as we have already stated, the omission of it altogether by Strabo, and the certainty of its not being a Roman road, furnish us with *primâ facie* evidence against its having been followed by Hannibal. As the Mont Cenis is now one of the easiest and most commodious passages which a

general would select for conducting his army over the Alps from France into Italy, it is not a matter of surprise that several writers should have been led to imagine that it was by this mountain that Hannibal penetrated into the latter country. These, however, have generally been travellers who, pleased with the idea of treading in the steps of the great Carthaginian, have thus hazarded an opinion for which they perhaps could give no other reason than the wish which first suggested it. Thus we find this hypothesis advocated by Simler,* Gresley,† Count Stolberg,‡ Abauzit,§ de Saussure,|| and Albanis Beaumont;¶ but without advancing any argument in its favour, or at all entering into the details of the question. It will not therefore be necessary to answer such writers separately, since they may be all included in the general refutation of the hypothesis they concur in supporting. From this group we must, however, distinguish Professor Mannert of Landshut, whose great erudition and acquaintance in matters connected with ancient

* De Alpibus Comment, p. 77. et seq.

† Observat. sur l'Italie par deux gentilshommes Suédois. Londres, 1764, t. 1.

‡ Travels in Germany, Italy, and Sicily, by Stolberg. t. 1.

§ Œuvres diverses de M. Abauzit, Londres, 1770. Lettre de Mr. Mann, p. 177. et suiv.

|| Voyages dans les Alpes, par de Saussure, 8vo. t. iv. § 987, t. v. § 1191.

¶ Descript. des Alpes Grecques et Cottiennes par. J. F. Albanis de Beaumont, t. i. P. i. p. 98. t. ii. P. ii. p. 632.

history and geography, must certainly entitle his opinion in the present question to particular attention. This learned scholar, in the introductory chapter to his *Geography of Ancient Italy*, in which he gives an account of the Alps and the various passes by which they were formerly traversed, expresses his belief that Hannibal crossed the great chain by the route of Mont Cenis.* In forming his opinion, he appears to have been solely guided, and, no doubt most judiciously, by the narrative of Polybius; and he professes to have found the distances, as given in the best modern maps, accurately agreeing with the statement of the Greek historian. This fact we must dispute, for, although the route of the Mont Cenis deviates at first very little from that on which our own system is founded, yet the immediate descent upon Turin shortens the total distance very considerably, and it will be impossible to make up 150 miles from the first ascent of the Alps to the descent at Susa, without very much overrating the actual distances, and falling into the error of M. Larauza, who adopts the measurement of the modern post-road, which for the sake of easy ascent and descent, has been very materially lengthened. We must also strenuously oppose the argument on which the German Professor seems so mainly to insist, as favouring his views of the subject, namely, that

* *Geogr. t. ix. P. 1. p. 30.*

the plains of Italy can be seen from the summit of Mont Cenis, and from thence only.* It is most certain that he has been misinformed on this point, though it has also been maintained by others. Even de Saussure, who ascended the Roche Michel far above the Hospice of the Grande Croix, could not perceive the plains from that elevated summit. The Roche Melon is the only point in this vicinity from whence it is possible to have a view of Piedmont; but it is not accessible from the Grande Croix or any point in the road of the Mont Cenis. Upon the whole, it is evident, that Professor Mannert has not gone very deep into the question, more especially, we may add, since he does not appear to have been acquainted with Mr. De Luc's work or with our dissertation.

But the most strenuous and elaborate advocate for the Mont Cenis is a French writer named Larauza, whose dissertation on the subject has been already noticed. It is entitled "*Histoire Critique du Passage des Alpes par Annibal, dans laquelle on determine la route qu'il suivit depuis les frontieres d'Espagne jusqu'a Turin, par feu M. J. L. Larauza, ancien Maitre de Conferences a l'Ecole Normale.*" It was published after the author's death, in 1826. This being a professed work on the question which it is the object of this dissertation to discuss, and written by a man of learn-

* Geogr. t. ix. P. 1. p. 41.

ing, who had himself crossed the Alps, as he professes, on all the principal points connected with the inquiry,* it seemed necessary to examine, in this place, the arguments on which he grounds his theory, and to prove their inadequacy to sustain the conclusion that he is anxious to establish.

M. Larauza's system being in conformity with that which M. De Luc and ourselves maintain, up to the arrival of Hannibal at the junction of the Isere and Rhone, it will be needless to make any remarks on the previous part of his dissertation. But from this point we separate, and therefore it seems proper to inquire what reasons induced the learned French writer to abandon the route evidently marked out by Polybius, in order to follow a different one from that which we, under his guidance, have not hesitated to adopt. M. Larauza conceives, as M. Letronne did before him, that Hannibal did not enter the Island with his whole army, but that having, by means of a strong detachment, effected the object he had in view of supporting the claims of the elder prince of the Allobroges, he proceeded on his march along the left bank of the Isere to

* C. 1. p. 4. a careful perusal, however, of the work, leads us to doubt the accuracy of this assertion. It seems almost certain that he never examined the Little St. Bernard on the Savoy side.

Grenoble, and so up the valley of the Gresivaudan to the junction of the Isere and the Arc, when, by ascending the latter stream, he arrived finally at the foot of Mont Cenis. M. Larauza's principal reason for thus deviating from the more obvious route by Vienne and Chambery, appears to have been the hope of reconciling by this means the narratives of Polybius and Livy: but few critics will be disposed to agree in his conjectures and the boldness with which he overturns all the notions hitherto entertained on the subject of the ancient geography of Gaul. It is thus that he contends, in defiance of all ancient and modern authorities, and therefore solely because it suits his hypothesis to do so, that the Allobroges, whom Polybius speaks of as lying in Hannibal's route, did not at that period occupy the position which Cæsar, Cicero, Strabo, and numerous other writers, concur in assigning to them. M. Larauza does not appear to adduce even the shadow of a reason for this bold assertion, though the *onus probandi* rests so evidently with his side of the question.

Polybius plainly tells us that the Island was a very fertile and well-inhabited country; and if it was not then occupied by the Allobroges, who were no small and obscure tribe whose territory could with difficulty be traced on the map, we have a right to be told by what other Gallic clan it was then held. *Allobroges jam inde nullâ Gallicâ gente*

opibus aut famâ inferior, says Livy ; and this statement, together with what D'Anville has collected on the subject,* precludes the necessity of any further reply to M. Larauza on that point.

This gentleman, however, still prepossessed in favour of his plan of reconciling Livy and Polybius, goes on to show with the same facility that the Tricastini might, in the days of Hannibal, have occupied the banks of the Isere ; the Vocontii, those of the Drac ; and the Tricorii, the valley of the Gresivaudan. The Druentia of the Latin historian, to whose charge all the mistakes are laid, turns out also to be the Drac. But Monsieur Larauza seems to forget, that in Livy the three people above-named occur in the march before the Druentia ; whereas, according to his arrangement, the Tricorii would present themselves after the passage of that river. But there is another very material objection to the route he has traced out for the Carthaginian army. It is simply this: that there is no road whatever on the left bank of the Isere, and such is the nature of the country, that there never could have existed any route in that direction: this we have already stated in our examination of Monsieur Letronne's theory. Let us, however, suppose with Monsieur Larauza, Hannibal and his troops arrived at the junction of the Isere and the Arc, and about to enter the valley of the latter

* Art. Allobroges. Anc. Gaule.

river, which will lead him to the foot of the Mont Cenis in the central chain. Where shall we now find the ἀναβολὴ τῶν Ἀλπεων? Monsieur Larauza places the entrance or approach to the Alps at La Chavane and Maltaverne, between Montmeillan and Aiguebelle, and the defile in which Hannibal was attacked by the mountaineers, beyond the latter town; but though the valley of the Arc is in some places narrow and confined, it no where presents serious obstacles to the passage of an army, and least of all does it answer the description of the position in which the Carthaginians were attacked by the Allobroges. In the historian's account, Hannibal encamps at the foot of the heights occupied by the enemy, πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, and when they retire for the night to their town, he seizes on the defile with a select body of troops; the barbarians in the morning return and attack the army, on its advance from the position which Hannibal had secured; when the Carthaginians are exposed to great danger and loss from the nature of the ground, which was rugged, narrow, and precipitous: and it is further expressly stated, that many of the beasts of burden were carried down with their loads into the precipices.* But in advancing along the valley of the Arc from Aiguebelle to St. Jean de Maurienne, we find no heights to scale, no narrow and precipitous de-

* See Translation of Polybius, c. 50.

files to descend; in short, there is scarcely any thing to deserve the name of δυσχωριαi or στéva. Monsieur Larauza does not trouble himself much to examine what town it was which the Carthaginian general took after the action; he only observes, "entre Argentil et Eypierre on apperçoit
"divers chemins jetés ça et là dans ces montagnes,
"la ville prise par Annibal devait étre située par
"là, au milieu des monts qu'on a sur la droite,
"peut-être du côté où sont aujourd'hui les mines
"de St. Georges d'Urtières."* We are to remember also that this town belonged to the Allobroges according to Polybius, whereas we are now in the Maurienne which was occupied by the Medulli, or Garoceli; Alpine nations quite distinct from that people; nor is it probable that whoever were the inhabitants of this poor and sequestered valley, they would have ventured to attack the numerous and warlike forces of the Carthaginian general. But to proceed: after an uninterrupted march of four days from Eypierre, the troops encounter on the fifth, a deputation from another people, with apparent offers of amity and good will, but concealing designs of a most treacherous and hostile nature. Here it may be observed how very improbable it is, that the Maurienne should have supplied two distinct tribes in one continuous valley, and each rich and powerful enough to supply pro-

* P. 103.

visions for the support of a numerous army, as well as a sufficient number of warriors to venture on hostilities against such forces as those of Hannibal. Such difficulties, however, do not occur to the mind of Monsieur Larauza, who places the defile in which these new enemies assailed the army, between Termignon and Lanslebourg. He also discovers there a "Leucopetron," composed of gypsum, the existence of which we shall not question; but we much doubt whether it would have presented such a favourable position for the protection of Hannibal's main army as the author of the dissertation we are now examining supposes. Monsieur Larauza, who makes every circumstance described by the Greek and Roman historians coincide with his system, insists very much on the view of the Italian plains, which is to be discovered from the Mont Cenis, and he quotes Grosley and Lady Morgan, as great authorities on this point; he does not affirm, however, that he enjoyed this view himself, but he was assured by the inhabitants of the mountain, that the plains could be seen from a summit named Corna Rossa, belonging to the chain of the Petit Mont Cenis.*

The fact may be as it was stated to Monsieur Larauza,† but if that gentleman had ascended the height himself to verify the information commu-

* P. 128.

† De Saussure denies altogether the possibility of any such view.

nicated to him, it would have been far more satisfactory ; as it is, the question cannot be considered as settled ; but granting the fact to be true, can we for a moment suppose, that in the situation to which Hannibal and his troops were then reduced, they would have the inclination or power to climb the surrounding heights, then covered with snow, in order to obtain a view of the plains of Italy. We repeat what we have said before, the circumstance related by Polybius must not be taken *au pied de la lettre*, but in a general and somewhat figurative sense, more suited perhaps to the orator than the dry matter-of-fact historian. It has been certainly granted that no such prospect could in a literal sense be obtained from the Little St. Bernard, but if it is pretended that Hannibal ascended the loftier summits to see the fields of Cisalpine Gaul, stretched below his feet, we maintain that he could as easily do this from the Graian, as the Cottian Pass, since the peaks of the Rutor and Valaisan, which rise above the former, would furnish as boundless a prospect as those of Corna Rossa, or Roche Melon, belonging to the latter.*

* The authors of the present dissertation are acquainted with but one pass in the Alps where the fact related of Hannibal could be strictly realized. It is the Col of Monte Viso, which leads from the valley of the Guil in Dauphine to that of the Po in the ancient marquisate of Saluzzo, passing close to the source of the latter celebrated river. Here the view is grand and

In the descent Monsieur Larauza supposes the accident of the road carried away for the length of three half stadia, to have happened a little beyond the plain of St. Nicholas, where the road is exposed to frequent avalanches, but the snow is never known to remain throughout the year. Our author, who is aware of this objection, avails himself in order to get rid of it, of Monsieur Letronne's conjecture, which has already been noticed; namely, by supposing that Polybius, or those who related the circumstance to him, may have made a mistake, having regarded as last year's snow, what really had only fallen a few weeks previous to Hannibal's passage. Thus does the ingenious Frenchman, overcoming all difficulties, finally bring the Carthaginians to Susa, Rivoli, and the plains around Turin.

We have yet one more remark on Monsieur Larauza's calculation of distances. In his measurements he has taken as his guide the post-book, which cannot certainly be considered as a fair criterion of mensuration; for it is well known that in mountainous countries, the distances are always overrated for the benefit of postmasters. Thus for instance, the post-book reckons three posts, or fifteen miles from Lanslebourg to the stage on the

stupendous beyond description; but no one would, on that account, affirm that the Carthaginian chief had strayed with his forces to that lofty height to enjoy the far distant and almost boundless prospect which it presents.

summit of the pass, whereas the real distance is not ten miles, and of course the old road by which we ought to make our reckoning would be still shorter. It is evident, therefore, that a considerable reduction must be made from Monsieur Larauza's calculation, and instead of 148, which he reckons from Maltaverne to Rivoli, the real distance by the map, after making every allowance for unevenness of ground, which, however, is not considerable in the valley of the Arc, will be found to fall short of 120 Roman miles, which would leave a deficiency of 30 miles from 150 miles, or 1200 stadia, reckoned by Polybius from the foot of the Alps to the plains of Italy.

Having now sufficiently examined the arguments on which Monsieur Larauza grounds his particular theory, we may conclude by offering some general observations on the hypothesis which would regard the Mont Cenis as the pass of Hannibal. It has been already stated in the introductory remarks on the early history of the Alps in Chapter I. that no mention whatever is made of that mountain as a passage frequented by the Romans, nor has it ever been proved that it was crossed by the armies of any nation before the time of Charlemagne, when the name of Mons Cinisius first appears in history. This must alone afford the strongest presumption that it was not Hannibal's route. Monsieur Larauza endeavours, indeed, to shew from Albanis Beaumont, that there were Roman ways in the

Maurienne, but that writer, who, by the way, is of very doubtful authority in matters of antiquity, asserts only that there was a road established over the Col de la Roue, which he says, was called Mons Rudus. This, however, would prove nothing with respect to the Mont Cenis, for the Col de la Roue furnishes an immediate communication with Italy by the Col de Sestrieres, and, therefore, would be a more desirable passage for the Romans; its being frequented therefore would be rather a proof that the Mont Cenis was not. Segusio or Suze was the capital of Cottius, and as long as he was hostile, it is not to be supposed that the Romans would make a road through the centre of his dominions. It is for this reason that, till he had been conciliated by Augustus, they always crossed the Col de Sestrieres and the Mont Genevre. There is an obscure passage in Strabo, in which that geographer, speaking of the mountains situated in the country of the Medulli, who are supposed to be the inhabitants of the Maurienne, says they contained a lake from which the Druentia, and the Doria of the Salassi derived their source, and we notice it, because Monsieur Larauza brings it forward to prove, that the lake is that of the Mont Cenis, and consequently that the mountain was frequented by the Romans in the geographer's time; but allowing that the citation does refer to the small lake on the summit of the Mont Cenis which may reasonably be doubted, it

undoubtedly proves from the great error into which Strabo has fallen, with respect to the two rivers he has named, that he had heard a very confused and imperfect account of this part of the Alps, and consequently that the Cenis could not at that period be a well frequented pass, least of all could it be the Saltus Taurinus of Polybius and Livy.

It is also highly improbable that Hannibal should have selected this passage for crossing into Italy, from the great difficulties it would present before it was rendered accessible for carriages, especially on the Italian side, where the descent was most abrupt and precipitous previous to the improvements which were effected by order of Buonaparte. Besides the Maurienne is so poor a country, that the Carthaginian would have had the greatest difficulty in procuring the necessary supplies during a march of nine days, which is the period allowed by the historians from the entrance to the summit of the Alps: and yet it appears that they were abundantly furnished with provisions by the inhabitants of the country. All which objections sufficiently demonstrate that it was not by this route that Hannibal carried his army into the plains of Italy. Monsieur Larauza's work, though containing some very bold and unauthorized assertions, is nevertheless written with great temper, and in a tone which makes us regret his early death, which took place before the publication of his work.

He has seized with great acuteness some weak points in M. De Luc's work, but as he only consulted the first edition of that author, much of the weight of his argument has been destroyed by the corrections which M. De Luc has subsequently introduced. M. Larauza's reasons for considering the Taurinus Saltus as the road from the Mont Cenis, instead of, as universally admitted, that from the Mont Genevre, we leave to be disputed by the advocates for the latter passage; but we cannot help entering our protest against the manner in which he gets rid of the difficulty that is presented by the words of Polybius B. 3. C. 56. *κατῆρε τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία, καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰσομβρων ἔθνος*. He contends, that instead of the generally received translations of these words, "He descended boldly *into* the plains of the Po, and the country of the Insubrians," we ought to read *towards* the plains, &c. "*vers le pays des* "Insubres," by which alteration he conceives, that the text will admit of Hannibal's attacking the city of Turin and capturing it, before he marched towards the plains of Lombardy. But even allowing, (which we do not,) that M. Larauza's translation were accurate, a perusal of the whole passage in Polybius, will shew that he is in error, for in the 56th Chapter, the historian says, that the march being completed in fifteen days, the army descended into the plains, and so completed the passage; and it is not till the 60th Chapter, after the whole nar-

rative of the march is concluded, that he proceeds to relate the circumstances of the capture of Turin; considering it evidently as an event subsequent to, and not, as M. Larauza would wish us to admit, previous to, the establishment of the army in the plains. Notwithstanding, however, the errors which it contains, M. Larauza's work is worthy in many respects of an attentive perusal.

It remains for us to say a few words on the opinion of Napoleon on this subject, as stated in his "Notes sur l'Ouvrage Intitulé Considérations sur l'Art de la Guerre," in the 2d vol. of his *Mélanges Historiques*. In these notes he gives a very concise account of the road which he conceives Hannibal to have taken, and which is as follows:—he crossed the Rhone a little below Orange, and in four days reached either the confluence of the Rhone and the Isere, or that of the Drac and the Isere, settled the affairs of the two brothers, and then, after six days march, arrived, on the former supposition, at Montmeillan, and from thence, in nine days, at Susa, by the passage of the Mount Cenis; or, in the latter case, if he arrived at Grenoble at the end of the four days, he would reach St. Jean de Maurienne in six days, and Susa in nine days more; from Susa he marched upon Turin, and after the capture of that city he advanced to Milan.

The reasoning by which Napoleon supports his hypothesis, is principally founded on what the

French call "*la raison de la Guerre*," that is, Hannibal did this because, as a military man, he ought to have done it: and if we were discussing prospective operations, there is no doubt that the opinion of so great a general as Napoleon would be almost conclusive; but in reasoning upon the past, the elements of the discussion are as open to civil as to military writers, and the former are quite as capable of conducting an argument logically as the latter. Napoleon has been guilty of several inaccuracies in his statement, and his argument is conducted in that decided manner which bears down all opposition, and which supposes, that whatever he says must be right. He asserts, that both Polybius and Livy state, that the army arrived, in the first instance, at Turin, and he loses sight altogether of the detailed narration of Polybius. The author upon whose work he is commenting, adopts the passage of the Little St. Bernard, which Napoleon refuses to believe, because Hannibal must have been early acquainted with the retreat of the Romans towards their fleet, and would not, in that case, have marched further north. The explanation of all this may be found in Napoleon's own words, "*La marche d'Annibal depuis Collioure jusqu'à Turin a été toute simple, elle a été celle d'un voyageur; il a pris la route la plus courte.*" Hardly so, since the road by the Mont Genevre was shorter than that by the Mont Cenis, as he himself allows, a few pages before:

In a word, if we had no historical details to guide us, Napoleon would probably be right; but as we profess to be guided by those details, and as from his omitting to notice the greater part of them, he appears either to have been ignorant of them, or to have been unable to make them agree with his hypothesis, we must come to the conclusion, that what he says rests upon no proof, and is to be merely considered as the opinion of a great general upon an hypothetical case. It should seem too, that he was unacquainted with any of the arguments in favour of the passage of the Little St. Bernard, as he alludes to none, and satisfies himself with a simple contradiction of the author upon whom he is commenting, who, on his part, gives no reasons whatever for his opinion, and who by carrying, as he does, the army to Lyons, very naturally induced Napoleon to suspect his authority upon other points.

Having thus gone through the various hypotheses of those writers who have maintained that the Carthaginian army marched by the Mont Genevre, the Mont Cenis, or the Great St. Bernard, it has, we trust, been shewn that none of these roads can be made to agree with the plain text of Polybius; and if we lay the Greek author aside, and, with the followers of Livy, take the Latin one alone for our guide, how does it happen that among the host of writers upon this subject, no two of them agree upon the road

which the army took in order to reach the Mont Genevre. This fact alone would be sufficient to throw great doubt and suspicion upon the account given by Livy, as, if he had expressed himself with tolerable clearness, these variations could hardly have occurred. Perhaps, however, Livy has been unfortunate in his supporters, for they have generally been either scholars or military men; the former of whom have remained at home in their closets, and have contented themselves with marching on their maps, without any real knowledge of the actual state of the country, and without appearing to be aware that a large army, encumbered with baggage, cannot pass, like an individual, over pathless mountains and heights almost inaccessible, and still less through countries totally incapable of affording them subsistence; but that, on the contrary, a long march, through a difficult country, and under an able general, is always planned beforehand, and not left to accident; that the easiest roads are fixed upon; and that if magazines cannot be provided beforehand, the line of march is conducted, as much as possible, through a country where the population is large enough, and where the fertility and cultivation are sufficient to ensure subsistence for the troops. Can it be reasonably supposed that a general, endowed with the talents of Hannibal, would engage himself and forty thou-

sand men, upon whom not only his own reputation, but the safety, and even the existence of his country depended, in a long chain of mountains, of which he could personally know neither the extent nor the resources, without having long before fixed upon his plan of operations? And could he, as some authors have imagined, have trusted blindly to his good fortune to extricate him from defiles which he would in that case have rashly entered, without knowing to what place they led, or whether there was any issue at all from them? The most rational and easy way to penetrate through a very extended chain of mountains, is to trace the rivers which flow from them up to their sources, for subsistence and population are generally to be found on their banks, and the road is usually more easy, and the ascent more gradual; and accordingly, in the road which we have proposed, we have only to pass over two mountains, the Mont du Chat and the Little St. Bernard; while to effect a communication between the Isere and the Durance, chains of mountains are to be crossed, in many places of nearly as great a height as the Little St. Bernard itself, and a country is to be traversed, where the inhabitants are so poor as to be unable to do more than subsist themselves. It is impossible for a writer totally unacquainted with the Alps, and with the supplies necessary for a large

army, to be aware of the difficulties attendant upon its progress; and the most learned scholar will be often incapable of thoroughly understanding his author, unless he join some practice with his theory.

On the other hand, this subject has been examined by military men, who, writing only as such, have either altogether neglected the old writers, or have, from ignorance of the language in which they are written, fallen into mistakes equally prejudicial to the advancement of truth, and to the right solution of the difficulties in which the subject is involved. Some of those, who, from their acquaintance with the country, ought to have been particularly well qualified to assist in the investigation, have unfortunately formed their theories before they had consulted their authorities, and have carried Hannibal over the Alps by the same roads, and in the same manner, in which they themselves would have marched from Spain to Italy; and, certainly, if the question were to be decided upon mere probability, and if we had no other data whatever to go upon than the single fact of his having gone from the one country to the other, we should be more inclined to trust to the speculations of men who pursue the same career that he did, than to those of writers who are practically unacquainted with military matters; but here the case is different, for we have several cer-

best suited for the subsistence of his army : and in these two points, the latter of which is always kept in view by Polybius, the valleys of the Isere and of Aoste are eminently superior to all the others of the Alps ; so much so, that even at the present moment, if time were not an object, and if the improved means of transporting subsistence, which modern armies enjoy, were put aside, an army might cross the Alps with greater general facility, and with much less individual suffering, by this passage than by any other. The only two parts of the road that are bad, are the Mont du Chat and the Little St. Bernard itself ; and a little labour would put these two places into very good order.

In addition to our general agreement with our author, this theory is supported by a great number of facts, which though when taken singly they may appear unimportant, are yet, collectively, of great strength ; such as the silver tablet, the universal tradition of the inhabitants, the Roche Blanche, and others of that nature. It is also consistent with itself, which is a quality that must be denied to many others ; and if we may judge by the attack made on it by M. Letronne and others, it is not open to any very powerful objections.

The only important point upon which we differ from Polybius, is, as we have already stated, the view from the summit of the passage. There is a

second, but of minor importance, viz. the march through the plains from Vienne, instead of following exactly the course of the Rhone by Lyons to the first ascent of the Alps. There is also a third point which may admit of discussion, which is the passage in Strabo already alluded to, in which it is stated, that Hannibal passed by the *Saltus Taurinus*. We have, we think, shewn with respect to the first of these difficulties, that it applies equally to all the other passages; rather less so perhaps to the Mont Cenis than to the Mont Genevre, but still so much so, as to make the assertion of Polybius, if taken literally, quite contrary to the fact. The statement of M. Larauza, as to the view from the Corna Rossa, is positively contradicted by De Saussure, in his description of the passage of the Mont Cenis, in which he proves to demonstration, by angles taken on the spot, that any view of the plains of Italy, even from the points of the Corna Rossa, would be completely intercepted owing to the position and the superior height of the Roche Melon, and the mountains to the S. E. As to any view from the plain itself, this is totally out of the question. Since then this difficulty is common to all the passages, we may at once set it aside as not bearing upon our hypothesis with greater weight than the others. As to the second point, respecting the march along the Rhone, we have shewn, that Polybius, in his description of the Island, considered that river as flowing in a straight

course from the point where it touched upon the Alps, to its confluence with the Isere, neglecting or being ignorant of the angle which it forms at Lyons. This course we adopt, and by fulfilling the first and the final term of the problem, we do all that can be reasonably required of us, consistently with the text of our author ; and the difficulty, such as it is, can be got rid of in no other way : for even if we admit that "the river," may be converted from the Rhone to the Isere, as the opponents of our theory would have it, we are not at all more advanced, since the left bank of that river is now and always has been altogether impracticable for the march of an army, and the right or north bank was equally so at the time of Hannibal's passage, though this latter fact is of no importance, because all the supporters of the march up the Isere proceed on the supposition of the army taking that road in consequence of the difficulty of crossing the river ; besides which nothing would be gained in point of agreement of distances with Polybius, even by a march up the Isere, as the road from the confluence of the two rivers to Grenoble, where we must place the entrance of the Alps, differs more from the 100 miles of Polybius, than a march conducted exactly along the banks of the Rhone to Lyons and St. Sorlin would do. As to the third point, it has already been sufficiently discussed, and the argument seems conclusive against it, that we have Polybius himself stating the descent among the

Insubrians, while we have Strabo at second hand, asserting the passage by the Saltus Taurinus; but as the two passages are inconsistent with each other, we are bound to follow the text of the original author.

Having thus disposed of our own weak points, we may add a few remarks upon those of our adversaries, or rather, upon those of M. De Luc, for none of the opponents of that gentleman appear to have met with this dissertation, and many of their objections to M. De Luc's first edition have been entirely removed in his second, in which he has adopted almost all the amendments that we had recommended: and this circumstance must be carefully kept in mind by the readers of the works alluded to. The first and strongest objection to all these theories, is, the impossibility of reconciling them with Polybius, not only generally as to the character of the road, but particularly as to the distances laid down by him, and especially as to the descent among the Insubrians. This last difficulty seems insurmountable; but if we add to this the impossibility of subsisting an immense army in the countries which they would traverse, as well as the difficulty of carrying it through such roads as they would endeavour to follow, we must remain convinced that the longest way is the easiest; and no readers will be so convinced of this truth as those who have themselves explored the different passages; and it is to

such readers that we appeal with the fullest confidence. We may add, in justice to ourselves, that we have endeavoured to discuss the question with the most perfect fairness, not weighing improperly upon the points which made in our favour, nor, on the other hand, suppressing those which might tell against us. To those who, thinking for themselves, wish to form their own opinion upon this subject unbiassed by that of others, we should recommend a diligent and exact study of Polybius, and, after that, a comparison of all the different hypotheses with the text of that author; and we must look upon Livy in this case not as an historian only, but as one of the supporters of a particular theory, for he himself allows that the question was doubtful and much debated in his own time; so that his assertions are no more to be taken for granted than those of more modern writers upon the subject. If this plan be adopted, it appears to us that the passage by the Little St. Bernard will be found to be more consonant to the text of Polybius, and attended with fewer difficulties than that by any other of the known passes of the Alps.

It is impossible to conclude this dissertation without again expressing our obligations to M. De Luc. It is to him that the theory of General Melville owes all its development; and it was most fortunate for the literary reputation of the General, that he communicated his notes to

M. De L. as well as to Mr. Whitaker, who appears to have been totally unaware of the value of the treasure confided to him. To all who may feel interested in this question, we most earnestly recommend the perusal of M. De Luc's work ; and we are most happy in being able once more to bear testimony to the uniform good faith, diligence, accuracy, and talent, displayed in his remarks.

Should the arguments brought forward by that gentleman, and by ourselves, fail in producing conviction, we should advise an inspection of the ground itself, in a visit to the places themselves ; as, independently of the great interest attached to the question which has been here discussed, this passage is decidedly the most beautiful of all. The vallies of Aoste and of the Isere are superior to all others in Alpine scenery, and their beauty alone will amply repay the trouble of visiting them. Although these vallies are not much frequented by strangers, yet their great population, and the constant intercourse they maintain with each other, will always ensure to the traveller the means of transporting himself with ease from place to place. It is easy to go from Geneva to Schez, at the foot of the Little St. Bernard, in three days ; and when once there, the two vallies may be thoroughly examined in a week. To those, however, who are unable or unwilling to undertake this journey,

we trust that the arguments brought forward in the preceding pages in favour of the passage by the Little St. Bernard, will appear sufficiently conclusive to set the question fairly, if not finally, at rest ; and if so, we feel we cannot better conclude this dissertation than by referring all the honour of the discovery to General Melville, in the words of M. De Luc, whose modesty on this occasion, and whose uniform delicacy and unwillingness to bring forward his own merits, deserve the highest praise.

“ Si ce fidèle et judicieux historien” (speaking of Polybius,) “ revenoit au monde, et qu’il
“ vît combien toutes les peines qu’il s’est données pour ne laisser rien d’incertain sur la
“ route d’Annibal, ont été inutiles, il demanderoit à quoi servent tous les progrès que les
“ modernes ont faits dans la géographie. Il seroit surpris qu’au milieu de ces progrès et
“ avec les données qu’il fournissoit pour ne pas
“ se tromper, on fut tombé dans un si grand
“ nombre d’erreurs ; il verroit que l’exactitude
“ et la justesse d’esprit sont des qualités aussi
“ rares à présent qu’elles l’étoient de son
“ temps ; il seroit étonné qu’un Ecossois, (le
“ Général Melville,) un habitant de la Calédonie,
“ de ce pays le plus reculé des pays soumis par
“ les Romains, eut résolu cette question si souvent agitée sans succès, question que les ha-

“bitans des Alpes, et des pays qui sont à leur
“pied, que les militaires même qui ont fait la
“guerre dans ces pays, avoient été hors d’état
“de résoudre.”

APPENDIX.

POLYBIUS, Book iii. Chap. 34.

HANNIBAL having taken every precaution for the security of Africa and Spain, now awaited and expected the arrival of those persons who had been sent to him by the Gauls; for he had made exact inquiries with respect to the fertility of the country at the foot of the Alps, and near the Po; the number of its inhabitants, and their courage in war; but, above all, he had ascertained their hatred against the Romans from the former war, of which we gave an account in the preceding book, in order to make our readers better acquainted with the events now to be related.

Hannibal therefore entertained much hope from this circumstance, and sent diligently to the chiefs of the Gauls, both those who dwelt on the other side of the Alps, and those who inhabited these mountains themselves; making large offers and promises: for he conceived that he should alone be able to raise a war in Italy against the Romans, by succeeding in passing the difficult places that intervened, and arriving in the country above mentioned, and obtaining the assistance and co-operation of the Gauls in his future projects.

These emissaries having therefore arrived, and having announced the good will and expectation of the Gauls, and declared that the passage of the Alps was indeed very laborious and difficult, but not at all impossible, Hannibal drew together his troops from their winter quarters at the commencement of spring.

News had also lately arrived from Carthage, which much elated him, and inspired him with confidence in the good will of his fellow citizens; so that he now openly exhorted his troops to prepare for a war with the Romans, laying before them in what manner the Romans had ventured to ask that he and all the principal officers of the army should be given up to them: he explained to them also the fertility of the country in which they would arrive, and the good will and friendship of the Gauls towards them. Upon the army's testifying their eagerness and zeal, he praised their spirit, and having fixed a day for his departure, broke up the assembly.

PART OF CHAP. 39. DISTANCES.

From the pillars of Hercules to the Pyrenees there are 8000 stadia; from the pillars to Carthagera, whence Hannibal set out, the distance is 3000 stadia; from thence to the river Ebro, there are 2600 stadia; from the Ebro to Emporium, 1600; and also from thence to the passage of the Rhone, there are 1600 stadia: for all these distances have been measured in steps, and divided at intervals of eight stadia accurately by the Romans. From the passage of the Rhone, for those who proceed along the river as if towards its source, to the ascent of the Alps on the way to Italy, there are 1400 stadia. There remains the passage of these mountains, a distance of about 1200 stadia, which having crossed, Hannibal would reach those plains of Italy that are adjacent to the Po.

CHAP. 42.

Hannibal having reached the Rhone, immediately prepared to effect a passage where the river was one entire stream, being then encamped about four days journey from the sea; and having by every means conciliated the people who inhabited the banks of the river, he purchased from them all their canoes and boats in sufficient quantity for his purpose: for these people who dwell on the Rhone are much in the habit of trading to the sea; he besides received from them a quantity of timber for constructing canoes; so that in two days he had got together a vast supply of vessels to carry over the army; each one striving to stand in no need of his neighbour, but to put in himself all hope of effecting a passage.

Meanwhile a numerous body of barbarians was collected on the opposite bank, to prevent the passage of the Carthaginians, upon the sight of whom, Hannibal, judging that in his present situation it was not possible for him to cross the river by force in the face of so numerous a body of enemies, nor to remain there, lest he should be attacked on all sides, at the approach of the third night, sent off a detachment of his army, with natives as guides, and under the orders of Hanno, the son of Bomilcar. These having marched up the river for 200 stadia, came to a place where it is divided by an island; there they halted, and having cut down timber from a neighbouring forest, they partly used it in constructing boats, and partly fastened it together for rafts, of which they soon made a sufficient number for their present purpose; on these they then crossed over without any opposition, and having taken up a strong position, they waited there that day to rest from their fatigues, and also to be ready to execute those

army, by means of an interpreter, what had been determined upon by them.

Among the circumstances calculated to inspire them with confidence, these were the principal: first, the presence of those men who incited them to the war, and undertook to assist them against the Romans; and next, the promise which they made of conducting them through places, in which they would lack nothing, and at the same time reach Italy speedily and with safety, was most persuasive; as well as the account they gave of the fertility and extent of the country into which they were to arrive, and the zeal of its inhabitants, who would assist them in their battles with the Romans.

The Gauls having made this statement, retired. Then Hannibal himself came forward, and began first by reminding his troops of their former achievements; in which, though often engaged in difficult and arduous enterprises, they had never once failed, in consequence of their having followed his advice and direction. He then exhorted them to be confident also in this undertaking, seeing that they had already accomplished the most important part of their task, since they had effected the passage of the river, and had beheld with their own eyes the zeal and good will of their allies; wherefore he conceived that they ought to have no anxiety with respect to the details of their operations, as that would be his concern; but by their obedience to his commands to shew their worth, and act consistently with their former exploits.

The troops having testified by their acclamations great zeal and alacrity, he praised their spirit, and having offered vows to the Gods in behalf of all, he dismissed them, with orders to refresh themselves, and to get ready with all diligence, as the departure would take place on the morrow.

CHAP. 45.

The meeting had just broken up, when the Numidians, who had been sent forward on the look out, arrived, having lost the greater part of their troops, and the rest having taken to a hasty flight; for having fallen in, not far from their own camp, with a party of Roman horse, who had been sent out by Publius Scipio on the same duty, they had fought on both sides with such animosity, that about 140 Romans and Gauls had fallen, and about 200 of the Numidians. The Romans afterwards in pursuit came up to the Carthaginian intrenchment, and having made their observations, hastened back to inform their commander of the enemy's presence. Upon arriving at the camp they made their report; Publius Scipio then immediately ordered the heavy baggage on board, and breaking up from his encampment, marched with all his force up the river, being very eager to bring the enemy to an engagement.

But Hannibal, on the morrow of the assembly, at day-break, drew out the whole of his cavalry towards the sea, to form his rear-guard; and leading out the infantry from the camp, he sent them forward on their march. He himself waited for the elephants and the men who had been left with them.

CHAP. 46:

The elephants were brought over in the following manner. Having made a great number of rafts, they joined two of these together strongly, and made them fast to the land on the bank: the breadth of the two thus united being about fifty feet. They then fastened two more to the extremity of these, which advanced out into the river:

they secured also that side which was against the stream, by cables from the land fastened to some trees which grew on the bank, in order that they might not be forced away by the strength of the current. Having made this raft in the form of a bridge about two hundred feet in length, they added to the end of it two other larger floats very firmly joined together, but fastened to the rest in such a manner, that the cables by which they were held might easily be cut asunder. They fixed also many ropes to these, by means of which the boats that were to tow them across might keep them from being carried down the stream; and thus resisting the current, convey the elephants on them to the other side. They next spread a great quantity of earth upon the rafts, laying it on till they had rendered them level, and similar in colour with the road on the land that led to the passage. The elephants being accustomed to obey the Indians till they approached the water, but never daring to venture in, they first led forward two female elephants along the rafts, when the rest presently followed. Upon reaching the extreme rafts, the cables which fastened them to the rest were cut, and they were instantly towed by the boats towards the other side. At this, the elephants being thrown into great disorder, turned every way, and rushed to every part of the raft. But being surrounded on all sides by water, their fears subsided, and they were constrained to remain where they stood. In this manner were the greater part of the elephants brought over, two rafts being thus continually fitted to the rest. Some, however, through fear, threw themselves into the stream in the midst of the passage. The Indians who conducted these all perished; but the beasts themselves escaped; for owing to the strength and size of their trunks they were able to raise these above the water, and breathe through them; and thus discharging the water as it en-

tered their mouth, they held out, and for the most part walked across the river.

CHAP. 47.

The elephants having now been brought across, Hannibal placed them and his cavalry in the rear, and set forward on his march along the river, proceeding from the sea in an easterly direction, as if he were marching towards the central parts of Europe.

Now the Rhone takes its source above the Adriatic Gulph, inclining to the west, in that part of the Alps which stretches towards the north: it then flows towards the south-west, and falls into the Sardinian sea; it runs for a considerable space through a valley, the north side of which is inhabited by the Ardyes Celtæ;* but on the south it is bounded by the ridge of the Alps, which face the north. The chain here described separates the plains of the Po, concerning which we have already spoken at length, from the valley of the Rhone, beginning at Marseilles, and reaching to the extremity of the Adriatic Gulph; and when Hannibal had crossed over these mountains from the country touching upon the Rhone, he entered into Italy.

But some of those who have written an account of this passage, wishing to astonish their readers by marvellous descriptions of these places, are fallen unawares into two defects most contrary to all real history. They are compelled to give false accounts, and also to contradict themselves; for having presented Hannibal to our view as a general unequalled for his daring and foresight, they at the same time shew him to have been the most inconsiderate of

* These are either the Ædui, or the Arverni of the Romans.

men. In the next place, not being able to bring the matter to an end, nor to extricate themselves from these falsehoods, they introduce the gods and sons of gods into a narrative of real facts. They suppose the Alps to be so steep and rugged, that it were impossible not merely for cavalry, or armies with elephants, but even for infantry lightly equipped, to surmount them; and represent them besides as so destitute of inhabitants, that, unless some god or hero had met Hannibal, and pointed out the way to him, both he and his army would have been brought to such distress as must have ended in their total destruction. Such then is the dilemma into which these writers have confessedly fallen.

CHAP. 48.

For, in the first place, what general would appear so void of counsel or so destitute of sense as Hannibal, if, leading so great an army, and placing in it all his hopes of success, he had neither ascertained by what way or through what countries he was to proceed, nor, in short, where or whither he was going. If, finally, he should appear to have attempted, not what was barely practicable, but absolutely the reverse; and yet when no general, however desperate his situation, would think of leading his forces into a country of which he had no previous knowledge, this is the conduct which these writers ascribe to Hannibal, who then entertained the full and undiminished hope of succeeding in his enterprise. In like manner, what they relate with regard to the desert state of these places, their steepness and difficulty of access, equally convicts them of falsehood. They indeed seem never to have heard that the Gauls who live near the Rhone had more than once, and not long before the passage of Hannibal, crossed the Alps with numerous armies, had engaged with

the Romans, and assisted the Gauls who live near the Po, as we have before shewn ; and besides, they are not aware that the Alps are inhabited by a numerous race of people ; but from their ignorance in these several matters, they are obliged to assert that some hero made his appearance amongst the Carthaginians, and pointed out the way to them. In this circumstance they naturally follow the example of tragic writers, who, in their catastrophes, have continually recourse to some god or machine, because they lay down at first plots which are contrary to truth and reason. So these historians are compelled to make use of a similar expedient, and cause both heroes and gods to appear, after they have laid down in the beginning facts so improbable and so inconsistent with truth ; for how is it possible to adapt a reasonable end to so absurd a beginning. But the truth is, Hannibal did not in anywise act as these writers affirm, but conducted his enterprise with consummate judgment ; for he had accurately ascertained the excellent nature of the country in which he was to arrive, and the hostile disposition of its inhabitants towards the Romans ; and he had for guides and conductors through the difficult passes that lay in the way, natives of the country, men who were to partake of the same hopes with himself. But I speak with confidence on this subject, because I have made inquiries from persons who lived at the time these transactions took place, and have visited the ground, and journied besides through the Alps, for the purpose of inspecting these places and gaining some accurate information respecting them.

CHAP. 49.

Meanwhile, however, Publius, the Roman general, coming up to the place where the Carthaginians had crossed the river, three days after they had broken up their

camp, and finding the enemy gone, his surprise, as might be expected, was extreme, having felt assured that they would never attempt to pass into Italy by that way, on account of the multitude and unsettled disposition of the barbarous nations that lay in that direction. Perceiving, however, that they had made the attempt, he hastened back to his ships, and upon his arrival immediately embarked his forces; and having sent his brother to conduct the operations in Spain, he himself set sail for Italy, desirous of marching with the utmost speed through Tyrrhenia, so as to reach the Alps before the enemy could have succeeded in passing those mountains.

But Hannibal having marched for four successive days, from the passage of the Rhone, came to a place called the Island, a country very populous and fertile in corn. It derives its appellation from this circumstance: The Rhone on one hand, and a river called the Isara on the other, flowing each along one of its sides, form the land into an angle at their junction. It nearly resembles the Delta of Egypt in extent and shape, except that the sea forms one of the sides of the latter, and connects the branches of the river that enclose it; but the third side of the former is terminated by a chain of mountains extremely rugged and steep, not to say inaccessible. On his arrival at this country, he found in it two brothers contending for the sovereignty, and in arms against each other; when, upon the elder's requesting his aid and co-operation in securing for him the throne, he readily acceded to the proposal, as it was then already evident what advantage he was likely to secure to himself from such a measure. Having therefore joined his forces with him, and driven out the other brother, he received in return no small assistance from the victor.

For he not only abundantly supplied the army with

corn and other necessaries, but very seasonably exchanged for new ones whatever arms were old and worn out: he besides furnished a great part of the forces with new clothing, and especially with shoes, which proved of infinite service to them in their march through the mountains. But above all, as they must have passed through the country of the Gauls, named Allobroges, with some degree of apprehension, he protected their rear with his forces during their march, and secured them from all attack till they drew near to the foot of the Alps.

CHAP. 50.

When Hannibal had marched for ten days along the river, a distance of about 800 stadia, and was preparing to ascend the Alps, he then found himself in a situation pregnant with extreme difficulty and danger; for as long as the army remained in the plain, all the chiefs of the Allobroges had refrained from molesting it in its progress, partly through fear of the cavalry, and partly also of the Barbarians that followed in the rear.

But when the latter had returned to their own country, and the army was now entering the difficult passes, the chiefs of the Allobroges collected a numerous body of men, and seized upon the defiles through which Hannibal and his army were necessarily obliged to pass.

Now if they had conducted their plan with secrecy, they must have utterly destroyed the Carthaginian army; but their intentions becoming evident, this plot, though it caused a considerable loss to the Carthaginians, proved no less destructive to themselves. For when the Carthaginian general had observed that they had occupied the most advantageous posts, he halted, and encamped at the foot of the heights; whilst he sent forward some of the Gauls that served him as guides to spy out the design and plan of the

enemy. These having obeyed his orders, Hannibal learnt, that during the day the Barbarians kept a careful guard at their post, but that when night came they retired to a neighbouring town. Upon this information Hannibal prepared his measures, and adopted the following plan: he led on his forces in open sight, and having brought them up close to the entrance of the defile, he encamped within a short distance of the enemy; as night came on, he ordered fires to be lighted; when, leaving the greater part of his army there, he himself, with a select body of his best troops, lightly equipped for the occasion, penetrated through the defiles during the night, and seized upon those posts which the enemy had deserted; they having retired according to their usual practice to their city.

CHAP. 51.

When this had been executed, and morning came, the Barbarians, perceiving what had taken place, at first desisted from forming any enterprize; but afterwards, observing the beasts of burthen and the cavalry slowly and with difficulty extricating themselves from the defiles, they were urged by that circumstance to make an attack upon them during the march. Upon this determination they assailed the Carthaginians on several points at once, and caused them a severe loss, especially in horses and beasts of burthen; not so much indeed from the assailants, as owing to the nature of the ground; for as the way by which they were advancing was not only rough and narrow, but also precipitous, many of the beasts that were loaded with the baggage, from the least shock and confusion were carried together with their loads down the precipices: and this disorder was chiefly caused by the wounded horses; for some, rendered unmanageable by the pain, fell against

the beasts of burthen ; others, rushing forwards and overthrowing every thing they encountered in so difficult a road, created the utmost confusion and alarm.

Hannibal observing this, and reflecting that even though the troops should escape, the loss of the baggage must be attended with the ruin of the army, advances to their aid with the detachment which had occupied the heights during the night ; as he made his attack from higher ground, he destroyed many of the enemy, not, however, without suffering equally in return ; for the disorder of the march was much increased by the conflict and clamour of these fresh troops. But when, however, the greater part of the Allobroges had perished in the combat, and the rest had been forced to fly for shelter to their homes, then, only, the remainder of the beasts of burthen and cavalry, with great toil and difficulty, succeeded in emerging from the pass. Hannibal having then drawn together all the troops he could collect after the engagement, proceeded to assault the town, from whence the enemy had made their attack, and finding it almost deserted, because the inhabitants had been all induced to go forth in quest of booty, he easily became master of it ; and from thence derived many important advantages, both for his immediate as well as future wants.

For his present supply he obtained a vast number of horses and beasts of burthen, and captives, and besides, a quantity of corn and cattle sufficient to maintain the army with ease for two or three days ; he also infused such terror into the neighbouring people, that none of those who dwelt near the ascent of the mountains would easily be induced to form any enterprize against him.

CHAP. 52.

Having then pitched his camp in that place, and remained there one day, he again set out on his march, and proceeded for some time in perfect safety; but on the fourth day he again became exposed to imminent danger. For the people who dwelt round the passage, having conspired together to deceive him, came out to meet him, with boughs and garlands; for this is the symbol of peace with nearly all barbarous nations, as the Caduceus is among the Greeks. But Hannibal, cautious of giving hastily credit to these assurances, questioned them minutely as to their purpose and intentions altogether. They assured him that they were well aware of the capture of the town, and the destruction of those who had made an attack upon him; they also expressly declared that they were come for that purpose, as being desirous of neither doing or suffering any injury, and offered to deliver into his hands some of their people as hostages.

Hannibal remained long in doubt, and mistrusted this declaration; but when he had reflected, that if he should accept their offers, it would render this people more cautious and gentle in their conduct; but were he to reject them, it would force them to become his avowed enemies; he assented to their proposal, and pretended to enter into an alliance of amity with them: but when these Barbarians had given their hostages, and furnished the army with cattle in great abundance, and altogether had put themselves into his hands without any reserve, Hannibal was induced, in some degree, to lay aside his suspicions, and even employ them as guides to conduct the army through the remaining defiles. When the Carthaginians, then, had proceeded for two days, under the conduct of these guides,

the Barbarians, having meanwhile assembled together in great numbers, made a sudden attack upon the Carthaginians, as they were passing through a ravine very difficult of access, and closed in by steep and rugged heights.

CHAP. 53.

Here then must Hannibal and his whole army have been infallibly destroyed, had not he still been in some degree on his guard, and, foreseeing the possibility of such an attack, placed his baggage and cavalry in the van, while he kept his heavy infantry in the rear ; for as these closed the march, they prevented a severer loss, by sustaining the shock of the Barbarians ; notwithstanding, however, a vast number of men, beasts of burthen, and horses, perished. For the Barbarians having the advantage of the ground, and advancing along the sides of the mountains, as the army proceeded on its way, by rolling rocks upon them, and hurling stones, spread the utmost disorder and confusion throughout their ranks ; insomuch that Hannibal was forced, with one half of his army, to bivouac that night close to a certain white rock, strong from its position ; whence he could protect his baggage and cavalry, now separated from him ; nor was it till the whole night had been spent, that they were at length enabled to emerge from this ravine.

But the following day, the enemy being now retired, Hannibal rejoined his baggage and cavalry, and led on the army to the highest summits of the Alps, having no longer to encounter any numerous body of the Barbarians, but harassed on different points by straggling parties, that fell either on his advance or rear, as opportunity was offered them, and carried off some of the baggage. On these occasions the elephants were of the greatest service, for wherever they presented themselves in the march, the

enemy never ventured to advance, being struck with terror at the sight of these beasts.

Having reached the summit of the mountains on the ninth day, Hannibal pitched his camp, and remained there for two days, desirous of resting the troops he had brought thus far safe ; and also that he might wait for those who chanced to have been left behind ; during this time, many of the horses that had broken loose through fright, and beasts of burthen that had thrown off their loads, having followed the traces of the army, contrary to expectation rejoined the camp.

CHAP. 54.

There was already snow collected on the summit of the mountains, as it was now near the setting of the Pleiades ; wherefore seeing his troops in a state of great dejection from the hardships they had suffered, and those that still awaited them, Hannibal sought, by drawing them together, to raise their drooping spirits. The sight of Italy was the readiest expedient he had for this purpose, for it is so close beneath these mountains, that, when viewed together, the Alps appear as the citadel of Italy.

Pointing out, therefore, to his soldiers the plains adjacent to the Po, and reminding them of the friendly disposition of their inhabitants, the Gauls, towards them, and shewing them the place where Rome itself was situated, he in some degree revived their courage. On the morrow they decamped, and began the descent, no longer exposed to the attack of any enemy, except a few lurking marauders ; but from the nature of the ground, and the quantity of snow, their loss was scarce less than what they had experienced during the ascent.

For the descent was not only narrow and steep, but the snow rendering it impossible to distinguish where they

placed their steps, whenever they turned out of the proper track, they were inevitably lost in some precipice. Still, however, they bore up against these hardships, as being now used to such distress. At last they came to a place, where it was neither possible for the elephants or beasts of burthen to pass, owing to the narrowness of the road, which had been carried away for the distance of a stadium and a half; and this was wont to be so before, but it had taken place very recently in a more than usual degree; so that the troops again felt their spirits sink, and gave way to the utmost gloom and despondency. Hannibal at first endeavoured to avoid this obstacle by taking a circuitous route, but a fresh fall of snow having rendered this impracticable, he abandoned that design.

CHAP. 55.

For an accident of a peculiar and unusual nature had taken place; a quantity of snow which had remained unmelted since the last winter being now covered with fresh; this last was easily penetrated by the feet from its being recent, and consequently soft, and of no considerable depth; but when the men had trodden through this, and reached that which lay beneath and was firm, they made no longer any impression: but slid forwards on both their feet, as it happens to those who tread on a muddy and slippery surface. But what next followed was still more distressing; as they could have no hold on the snow beneath, whenever they fell, they struggled to raise themselves with their hands or knees; but the ground being very steep, they were sure to slide forward with greater force, carrying with them whatsoever they held for support. The beasts of burthen also, when they endeavoured to rise from their fall, broke through the surface of the lower snow, and remained there with their loads as it were

wedged in, both through their weight, and the firm nature of the old snow. Having, therefore, desisted from this attempt, Hannibal encamped near this narrow ledge, and having caused the snow to be cleared away, he set his army about propping up and reconstructing the road ; a task attended with great labour and difficulty. In the space of a day, however, sufficient progress was made to allow a passage for the beasts of burthen and horses ; when these were immediately led down to the plains which were free from snow, and sent to pasture. He then ordered the Numidians to proceed further in the repairs of the road, relieving each other during the work ; when, after much labour and toil during three days, they succeeded in making the elephants pass, these animals being now almost worn out with famine ; for the summits and higher points of the Alps are entirely naked and destitute of vegetation, from being constantly covered with snow both winter and summer ; but the middle regions on both sides abound in wood and trees, and are altogether habitable.

CHAP. 56.

Hannibal having now collected his whole force, descended, and in three days more from the time that he had passed over the broken way, reached the plain, having lost many of his soldiers, as well from the attacks of the enemy, as in passing rivers, during the course of the march ; many likewise in the precipices and defiles of the Alps ; and a still greater number of horses and beasts of burthen. Finally, having completed his journey in five months from Carthagera, and spent fifteen days in crossing the Alps, he descended boldly into the plains that are near the Po, and the territory of the Insubrians, having saved of his infantry not more than 12,000 Africans, and 8,000 Spaniards ; of his cavalry only 6,000 ; as he himself declares, in an

account of the number of his force engraved on a column at Lacinium.

CHAP. 60.

Hannibal having now entered Italy with the forces above mentioned, encamped at the foot of the Alps, and turned all his attention at first to recruit and refresh his army. For the troops had not only suffered extreme hardships from the difficulties of the way, both in the ascent and descent of the mountains, but they were besides reduced to the utmost distress, from the want of necessary provisions, and neglect of their persons, during their journey. Many, indeed, seemed to have lost all energy and courage from want and continued sufferings. For it was not easy to convey provisions necessary for the support of so many thousands through a country of so difficult an access, and those which they brought with them had been for the most part lost, together with the beasts that carried them. So that his army, which, after the passage of the Rhone, amounted to 38,000 foot, and more than 8,000 horse, was now reduced to nearly half that number, from the losses it had sustained in the passage of the mountains; and these, from being exposed to such repeated sufferings, both in appearance and condition, were brought to a state more resembling that of wild beasts than human beings.

Hannibal's whole care was therefore directed to the best means of reviving the spirits of his troops, and restoring the men and horses to their former vigour and condition.

When, therefore, his troops were sufficiently recovered from their fatigues, he first of all invited the Taurini, who dwell at the foot of the Alps, to enter into an alliance with him, they being then at war with the Insubrians, and but ill affected towards the Carthaginians: upon their refusal, he surrounded their chief city, and took it after a siege of

three days, putting to the sword all who had opposed him; by this measure he spread such terror among the neighbouring Barbarians, that they all came immediately and submitted at discretion. Now the remainder of the Gauls who inhabited these plains were desirous, according to their first intention, of joining the Carthaginians; but the Roman legions having already passed through most of their country, and thus prevented them, they were forced to remain quiet; some, indeed, were compelled to join the Romans.

Seeing this, therefore, Hannibal judged that he ought, without loss of time, to move forward, and achieve something, for the purpose of giving confidence to those who were desirous of making common cause with him.

EXTRACT FROM THE HISTOIRE DE L'ACADEMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS, RELATING TO THE SILVER TABLET FOUND AT "PASSAGE" IN DAUPHINY, AND NOW PRESERVED IN THE KING'S LIBRARY AT PARIS.

EN 1714, un fermier de la terre du Passage en Dauphiné, Diocèse de Vienne, faisant ses labeurs au lever du soleil, eut sa charrue accrochée par une grosse pierre, dont l'ébranlement rendit quelque son; il employa le reste de la journée à l'enlever, et en étant venu à bout, il trouva dessous un grand bouclier d'argent, de vingt-sept pouces de diamètre, et du poids de quarante-trois marcs. M. Gallien de Chabons, Seigneur du lieu et Conseiller au Parlement de Grenoble, étoit heureusement alors au château du Passage; le fermier lui porta le soir même le bouclier, dont il fut si charmé, que sur-le-champ il lui

donna quittance d'une année entière de sa ferme, lui recommandant seulement le secret de la découverte et de la récompense ; ensuite il renferma précieusement ce bouclier, qu'il appelloit une Table de Sacrifice, dans une armoire de la sacristie de sa chapelle, et l'on n'en eut connoissance qu'après sa mort. Alors ses héritiers apprirent toute l'histoire par son livre de raison, où il avoit écrit que si jamais on se défaisoit de cette antiquité, il falloit que ce fût pour avoir en échange un fonds capable d'entretenir honnêtement un chapelain au château du Passage ; ils résolurent de suivre cette vue ; ils envoyèrent le bouclier, toujours appelé Table de Sacrifice, à M. de Boze, pour savoir s'il conviendrait au Cabinet du Roi. Sa Majesté l'agréa ; Elle le fit payer le double de sa valeur intrinsèque, et il fut placé à côté de celui de Scipion.

Ce second bouclier votif, qui est très-entier et très-conservé, est de la même forme, c'est-à-dire, exactement rond, à-peu-près de la même grandeur et du même poids que le précédent ; mais il n'est pas à beaucoup près aussi chargé de figures et d'ornemens. On y a seulement représenté au centre, un lion sous un palmier, et au bas dans une espèce d'exergue les membres épars de divers animaux, sur-tout de sangliers. De ce centre partent des rayons d'une ciselure simple et noble, qui s'élevant et s'élargissant dans une juste proportion, viennent aboutir à la circonférence de tout le bouclier, et forment en ce genre un très-agréable coup-d'œil.

M. de Boze l'ayant fait voir à l'Académie, on ne balança pas à y reconnoître un ouvrage Carthaginois ; le rapport de la gravure de ce bouclier avec celle des médailles de Carthage, l'auroit seul indiqué, mais le lion et le palmier, symboles ordinaires de cette ville fameuse, achevoient de le déterminer. De là les conjectures prenant leur essor, on alla jusqu'à soupçonner que le bouclier pourroit bien avoir

appartenu à Annibal, et être une offrande qu'il auroit faite après son passage du Rhône à quelque divinité des environs comme à celle des Vocontiens, "Dea Vocontiorum," si célèbre dans l'histoire, et dont on trouve un si grand nombre de monuments en Dauphiné. On observa que son Temple étoit précisément dans le canton où la découverte s'étoit faite, et que suivant l'ancienne tradition du pays, la terre du Passage avoit retenu ce nom, du passage d'Annibal avec son armée, lorsqu'il la menoit en Italie. On ajouta que si les Grecs et les Romains avoient coutume d'offrir aux dieux, des boucliers votifs pour leur demander des succès, ou pour les en remercier, cet usage n'étoit pas moins ordinaire aux Carthaginois, comme on l'a déjà vu par l'exemple d'Asdrubal frère d'Annibal, dans les dépouilles de qui on trouva ce bouclier d'argent, du poids de cent trente-huit livres, qui fût mis au Capitole. On remarqua encore que si le lion étoit un des symboles de Carthage, il étoit devenu par excellence celui d'Annibal, à qui on en avoit donné le surnom, et qu'Amilcar son père avoit coutume de dire de ses enfans, que c'étoient des lions qu'il nourrissoit pour la destruction de Rome et de ses Alliés. (Tom. ix. p. 155.)

EXTRACT FROM THE THEATRUM SABAUDIÆ, RELATING
TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONVENT ON THE
LITTLE ST. BERNARD.

NON satis fuit eximio Viro Dei, Bernardo, quæ diximus in Monte Jovis* fecisse, nisi id ipsum in supradicto

* The Great St. Bernard.

monte qui ex Salassis in Centrones sive ex Augustensi Valle in Tarentasiensis ducit, præstitisset. Is cum Mons Columnæ Jovis diceretur accepta denominatione a Marmoreâ Columnâ cujus in summo eminebat Lapis Carbunculus seu Pyropus quem Jovis oculum dicebant, ut fert veterum traditio,* non modo dejectâ columnâ, quod idem in Monte Jovis æquè præstiterat, Dæmones Viatoribus similiter insidentes inde ejecit, verum etiam aliam Hospitalalem domum, sub eorundem Regularium ordinis sui Canonicorum regimine, perpetuo ad viatores excipiendos inhabitandam, inibi ædificavit; quæ quia minoris molis est, minoreque Religiosorum numero habitatur, Minoris Sancti Bernardi, vulgo, "le Petit St. Bernard" apud Gallos, "San Bernardo il piccolo" apud Italos, nomen obtinuit.

ON THE DISTANCES FROM THE PYRENEES TO THE VILLAGE
OF ST. MARTIN.

It has not been thought necessary to insert a map of the road taken by the army from Ampurias to Nîmes, as it appears from the 39th chapter of Polybius that he supposes them to have marched in the track of the great Roman road,† which formed the communication between those two places. It may, however, be satisfactory to give the Roman stations, and their distances from each other, as marked in the Antonine Itinerary. The distances are

* This tradition of the eye still exists on the spot.

† D'Anville supposes this to have been the Via Domitia. See his Notice sur La Gaule, art. Forum Domitii.

given generally as corrected by D'Anville, since, without these corrections, they are in some places manifestly wrong.

	Roman Miles.
From Emporium (Ampurias)	
to Juncaria (Junquera) . . .	16
Ad Pyrenæum (Fort Bellegarde) . . .	6
Ad Stabulum (Boulon) . . .	6
Salsulis (Salces) . . .	23
Narbone (Narbonne) . . .	30
Beterras (Beziers) . . .	16
Araura sive Ceserone (St. Thibery) . . .	12
Forum Domitî (Gigean?) . . .	18
Sextatione (Soustantion) . . .	15
Ambrussum (Pont Ambrois on the Vidourle)	15
Nemausus (Nîmes) . . .	15
Add the distance to Roquemaure . . .	30
	207

The distance is stated by Polybius at 200 miles, so that here is an excess of 7, which is certainly not considerable. The Roman road quitted the present post road at Boulon, and went to the eastward to Elne (Illiberis) and Roussillon (Ruscino), a town now destroyed, on the river Tet, a little below Perpignan. It then rejoined the great modern road, and went in the same direction till a few miles beyond Beziers, when it turned off to the E. to St. Thybery, on the river Herault, and proceeded in a straight line to Soustantion, which is about three miles to the N. E. of Montpellier. It crossed the Vidourle above the bridge of Lunel, by a bridge at Ambrussum, the remains of which are now called Pont Ambrois, from thence to Nîmes. The distance from Emporium to Juncaria is

not in the Itinerary, but we have stated it according to its actual amount.

From the passage of the Rhone to the foot of the Alps, or from Roquemaure to St. Jean de Chevelu (Lavisco), there is a distance of 175 miles, according to Polybius. The Antonine Itinerary gives no road between Valence and Orange; but the Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum gives thirty-eight miles from Arausione (Orange) to Acuno (Anconne), a small village a little above Montelimart, and thirty-two miles from Acuno to Valentia (Valence); in all, seventy miles from Orange to Valence. The real distance is not quite so great. From Valentia we take up the Antonine Itinerary again, coming from Milan by the Mont Genevre, or Cottian Alps, to Vienne, where we fall in with the road from Milan by the Graian Alps, or Little St. Bernard.

From Orange to Valence	70
To Ursolis (St. Vallier ?)	22
Vienna (Vienne)	26
Bergusia (Bourgoin)	20
Augustum (Aoste)	16
Labiscone (Chevelu)	14
Add from Roquemaure to Orange . .	6
	174

The third division of the march consists of the passage of the Alps, 150 miles.

From Labiscone to Lemincum (Chambery)	14
Mantala (Freterive ?)	16
Ad Publicanos (l'Hôpital)	16
Carried forward	46

	Brought forward	46
Oblimum (La Bâtie)	:	3
Darantasia (Salins)		13
Bergintrum (Bourg St. Maurice)		18
Arebrigium (Pré St. Didier)		24
Augusta Prætoria (Aoste)		25
Vitricium (Verrés)		25
Add from Verrés to St. Martin		10
		164

This gives 14 miles too much ; but, on the other hand, a considerable deduction is to be made from the three last stations in the Itinerary. The distance from St. Maurice to Pré St. Didier is not above 22 miles, and three miles are to be deducted from the stage from Pré St. Didier to Aosta, which is not above twenty-one. One mile is also to be taken from the stage between Aosta and Verres. These deductions, together with the excess on the Savoy side of the Little St. Bernard, to which we have alluded in the body of the work, will reduce the amount to about the distance required, of 150 miles. We left Pré St. Didier on the 25th of August, at least an hour after day-break, and went at a very slow foot's pace to Aoste, stopping to bait on the way. We stayed some time at Aoste, and reached Verres just as it became dark, stopping to bait on the road. This we could certainly not have done had it been 50 miles.

Hannibal crossed the Pyrenees with 50,000 infantry and 9,000 cavalry,* and his forces were reduced to 38,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, after the passage of the Rhone. Finally he arrived in Italy with 20,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, having lost 33,000 men in the whole march ; and

* Polyb. l. iii. c. 35—60.

it is remarkable that this number differs very little from that reported by Livy on the authority of Cincius Alimentus, Lib. xxi. c. 38. The passage has given rise to some discussion, and appears, in some respects, to have misled Livy, who must have misunderstood his author. By comparing Cincius Alimentus with Polybius, his statement is rendered sufficiently clear; for the 80,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, first mentioned by him, evidently relate to the numbers with which Hannibal crossed the Ebro, and the 36,000 men which were lost "in Taurinis," tally too exactly with the losses described by Polybius to admit of any doubt of their referring to the same time; *vis.*, from the passage of the Pyrenees to the arrival in the plains of Italy.

The march was completed in five months from Carthage, which he left early in June, and arrived at the plains of the Po in the first days of November, in the year B. C. 218, and U. C. 534.

Polybius states the amount of the army on the authority of an inscription made by Hannibal himself, and found at Lacinium.*

It seems extraordinary, after the anxiety shewn by Hannibal, in the 34th and 44th chapters of Polybius, to correspond with the Gauls, who were at war with the Romans, together with the assurances given by those states, and the guides sent by them to conduct the army over the Alps into their own territory, and, after the statement in the 60th chapter, of the dreadful state to which the army was reduced, and of the time which it took to recruit them before they were able to undertake ulterior operations against the Taurini; it seems, we say, somewhat strange that the improbability of so dangerous a movement as a descent among a nation whose enmity to the Carthaginians from

* L. ii. c. 33.

their own hostility to the Insubrians was all but certain, should not have struck more forcibly the supporters of the passage by the Mont Genevre or the Mont Cenis. An unbiassed and attentive perusal of these chapters seems almost to set the question at rest, independent of all other considerations.

One of the most extraordinary passages of the Alps, in modern times, was that by Francis I. in his invasion of Italy in 1515. As the Swiss troops had occupied the great roads, he was obliged to make the most extraordinary efforts to carry his army over mountains which had never before been passed, except by the people of the country. The main body of the army appears to have gone from Mont Dauphin by the Rock of St. Paul into the valley of Barcelonnette, and then by the Col de L'Argentiere into the valley of La Sture, and so to the Marquisate of Saluzzo. The reader may consult Mons. Sismondi's *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes* on this subject, as well as Paulus Jovius and Guicciardini. Leger, in his *Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*, affirms that Francis caused a passage to be cut through Mont Viso for this purpose; and it is certain that in one of the best maps of that country, (that of Buonaparte's Campaigns, by Bacler D'Albe,) we find on the summit of Mont Viso the words "Traversette, Trou fait de main d'homme." Mention is made of the piercing a rock called Pied de Porc both by Varillas and by Paulus Jovius, the former of whom attributes the merit of this enterprise to Navarre, and the latter to Trivulzio; but this rock appears to have been situated in the valley of La Sture, and none of the historians of the time say any thing of a passage cut through Mont Viso. The whole march is extremely curious, and well worth examination.

Since the publication of our first edition, we have exa-

mined the Col de L'Argentiere and the Col de Viso. The gallery cut in the latter pass was formed by a Marquess of Saluzzo for the purpose of facilitating his intercourse with Dauphiny. It is, however, too high up the mountain to have ever been of material service, and it is now impassable. The Col de Viso is a most difficult passage; but the view from it over the plains of Piedmont is so magnificent as to repay amply the fatigue necessary to accomplish it. The difficulties are such as to make it certain that Francis I. could not have carried any part of his army over it. It is so little frequented at present that we found it not easy to procure, even on the Italian side, guides who were acquainted with the road; and on the French side it was quite unknown, as, from Abries, travellers go into Italy by the Col de la Croix and Fort Mirabouc. In ascending the Viso we visited the source of the Po, and from Saluzzo to Paesana we passed through the most beautiful country that can be imagined. Nothing can exceed the richness of the vallies of the Po and of the Stura.

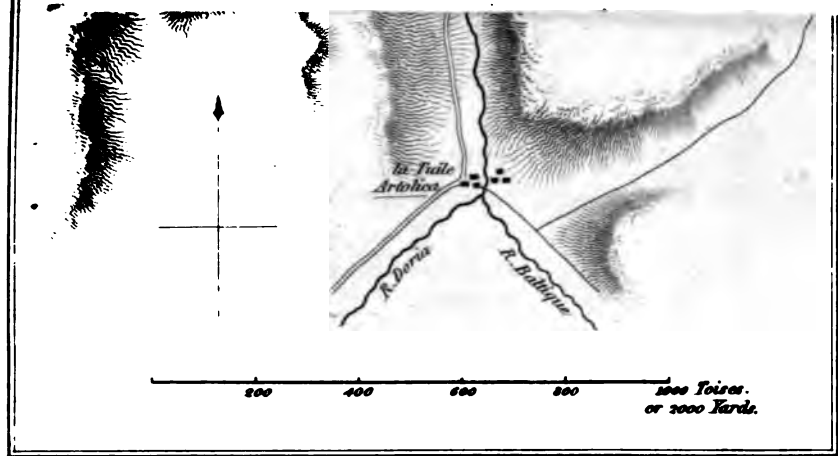
The principal authors who have written on this subject are, amongst the ancients, Polybius, Lucius Cincius Alimetus, Lucius Coelius Antipater, Titus Livius, Cornelius Nepos.

Among the moderns, Honoré Bouche, P. Labbe, Menestrier, Mandajors, Folard, St. Simon, Grossley, Abauzit, De Loges, Denina, Whitaker, De Vaudoncourt, Tytler, De Luc, Latronne, Fortia d'Urban, Roche, La Renaudiere, Larauza, Napoleon.

FINIS.

LONDON:

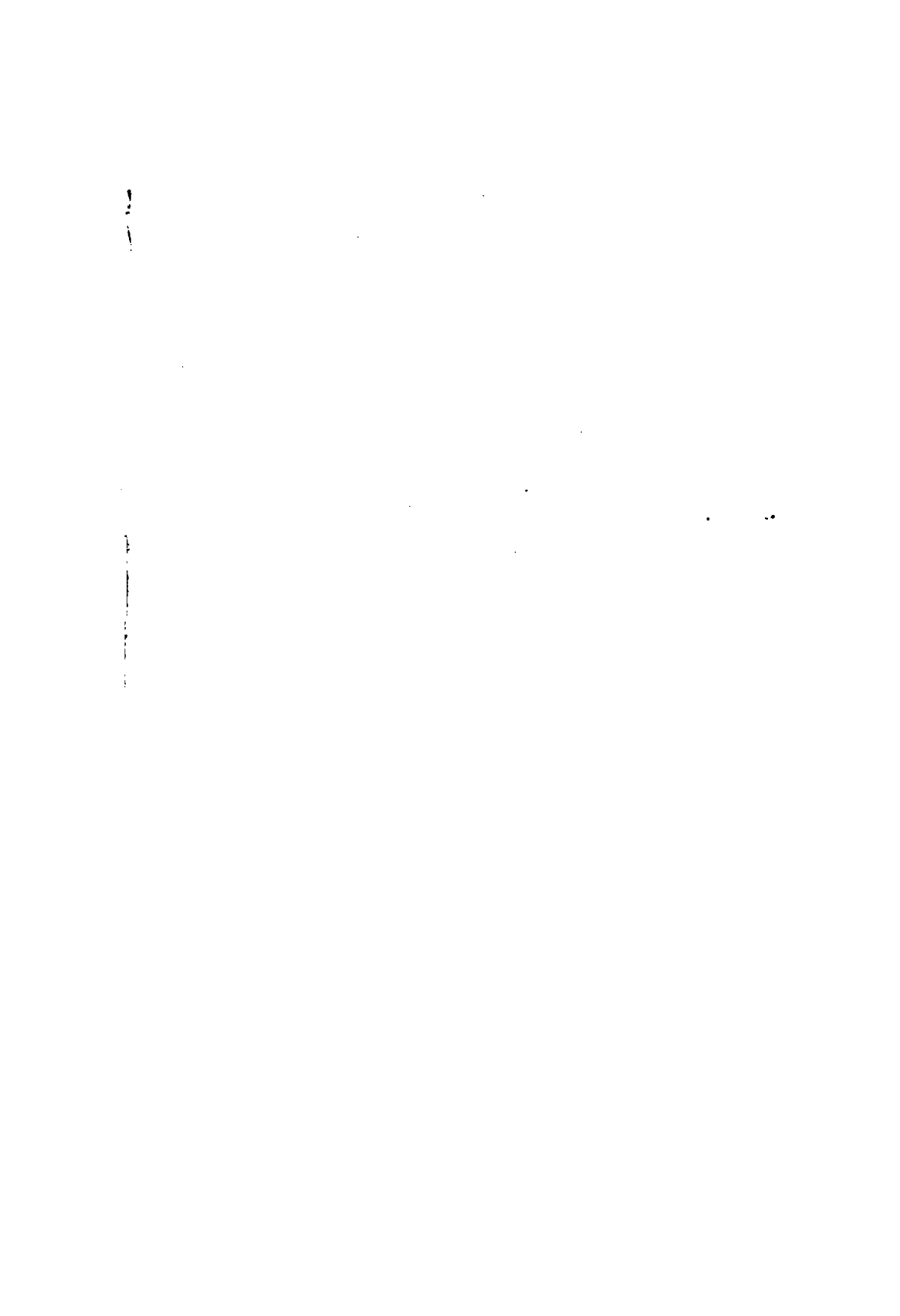
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Modern Road. Old Road.

Sketch of the Valley below la Tuile.

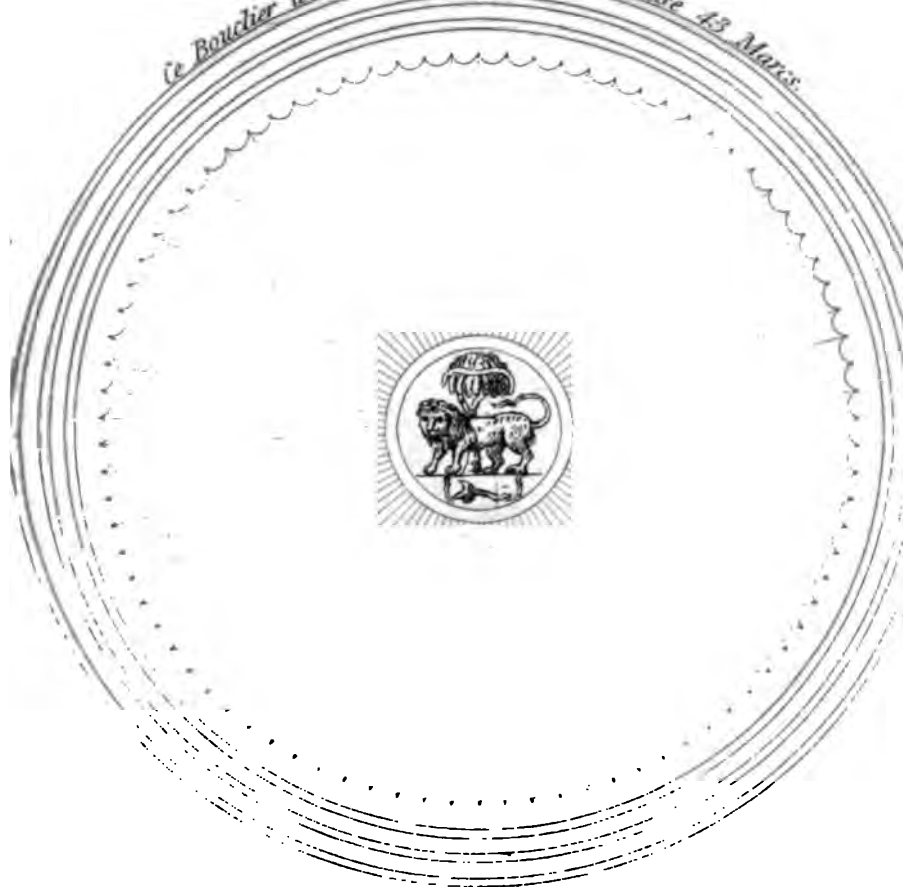
London, Pub. by G. & W.B. Whittaker. 1850.





BOUCLIER VOTIF D'ARGENT PIR.

Ce Bouclier a 27 Pouces de Diametre et pese 43 Marcs.



COPY OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE MONT DE CHAT.

The Stone is about 2' 6" in diameter



43

To Henry Spencer Law

J. M. Law

SOME REMARKS

CORRIGENDUM.

Page 5, line 6, erase the words comprehend the Lepontii, and

SOME REMARKS
ON
THE ALPINE PASSES
OF
STRABO.

BY
WILLIAM JOHN LAW, Esq.

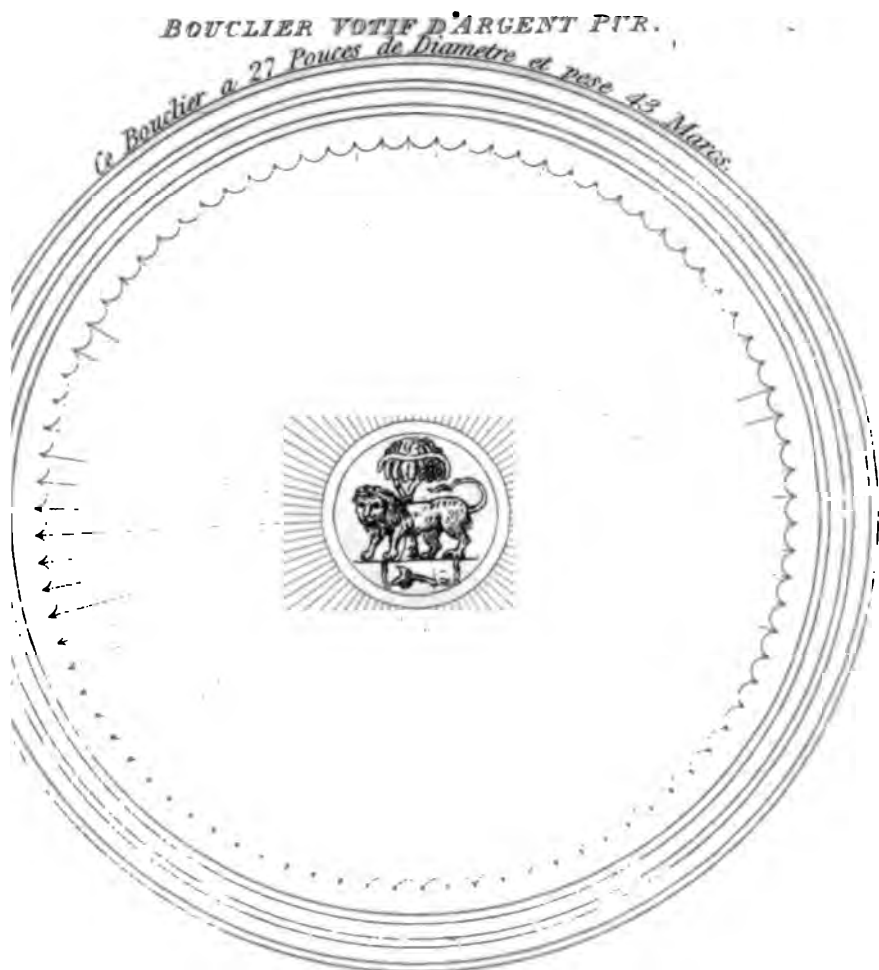
LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. RODWELL, NEW BOND STREET;
DEIGHTON, CAMBRIDGE; AND PARKER, OXFORD.
1846.

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Printed by S. & J. BENTLEY, WILSON, and FLEY,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

2. Minister
für
Kriegswesen

London: John & Co. 12 R. W. 1810.





COPY OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE MONT DU CHAT.
The Stone is about 2 ft 2 in high



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SOME REMARKS
ON
THE ALPINE PASSES
OF
STRABO.

BY
WILLIAM JOHN LAW, Esq.

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Printed by S. & J. BENTLEY, WILSON, and FLET,
Bangor House, Shoe Lane.

TO THE VERY REVEREND
JOHN ANTONY CRAMER, D.D.,
DEAN OF CARLISLE, ETC., ETC.

MY DEAR CRAMER,

The following remarks, which I offer to your indulgent attention, have arisen in considering the value of certain passages in Strabo's Geography, which have amused some leisure hours; one sentence especially, noticed by yourself and others among the evidence on that question of old and not exhausted interest, the track of Hannibal. What a mass of cogitations more or less reasonable has been heaped up on this still agitated question! The latest contribution is in that delightful book Dr. Arnold's Rome: and yet little light is there thrown upon your subject; the author almost acquiesces in one of the many hypotheses, but gives no reason for doing so; he produces, as might be

expected, his own arguments, and urges them with no want of zeal: whatever be the justice of them, none favor the line of march to which he dubiously assents, being that which was so ably asserted by Deluc and enforced by you and Wickham, over the Graian Alp. This theory has gained ground in England: the world elsewhere is ill-disposed to it: not only D'Anville long ago, but most of the French critics now, including the eminent Letronne, have favored the Mont Genève; the lamented Larauza maintained the Cenis, and is followed by Dr. Ukert, author of the most elaborate of recent works on ancient geography; Mr. Whitaker in his day worked hard for the Great St. Bernard; M. de St. Simon stood up for the Monte Viso; Albanis Beaumont imagined the Lautaret; and M. Arneth comes forward for the Simplon.

This little pamphlet affects not that very amusing controversy; and touches it only in pointing out that, whatever be the truth as to the way by which Hannibal overcame the Alps, we should in all discretion reject the evidence of Strabo. That evidence is found in the most questionable part of a very questionable sentence: you have repudiated the offending part in a summary way: in my more deliberate scrutiny of the whole, I must venture on

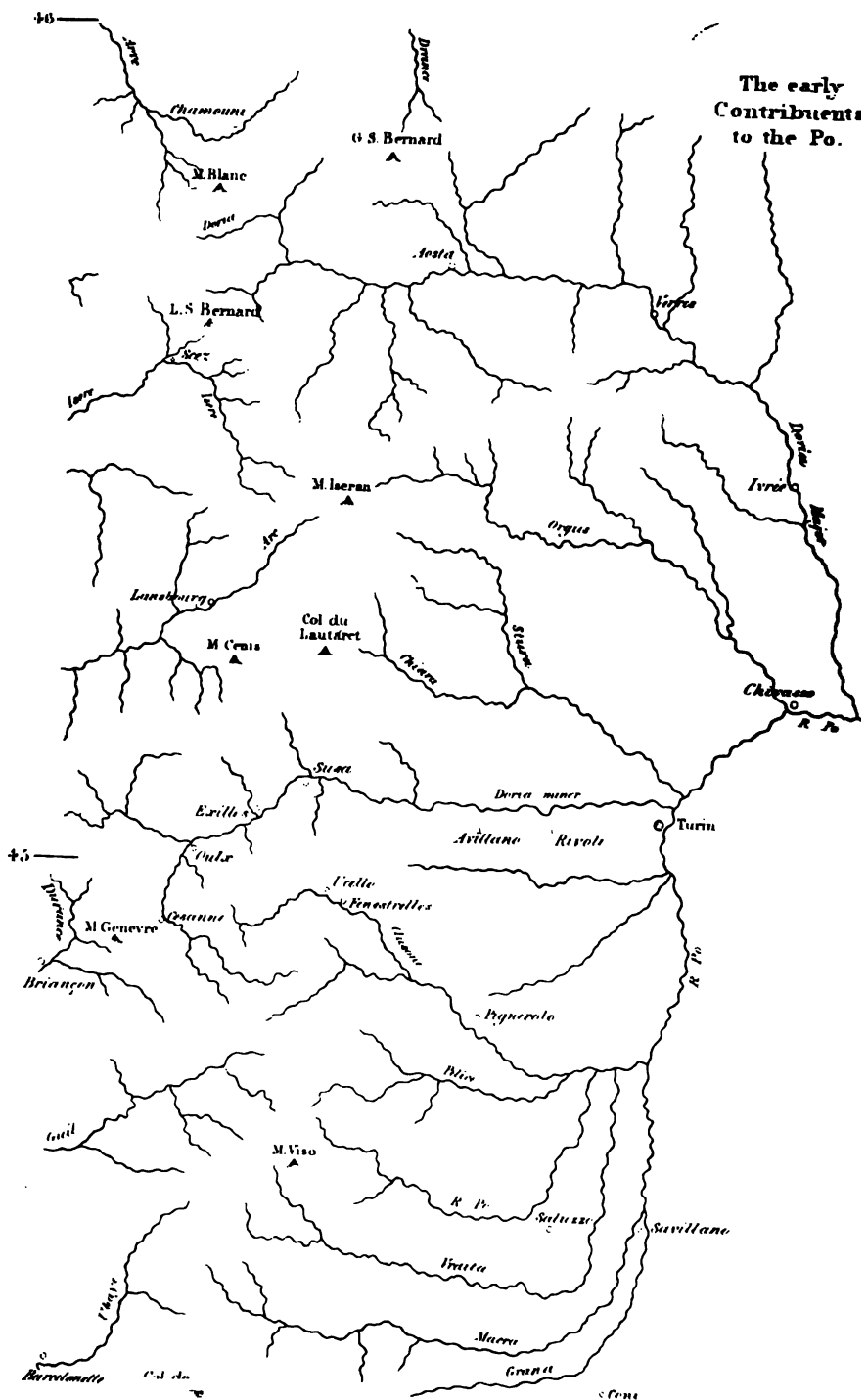
many propositions which perhaps will not receive your sanction: I offer only my own impressions, not knowing that any one will support them, and not without apprehension that in my course of reasoning there may be something of error and oversight to invite your correction.

Believe me, my dear Cramer,

Yours most sincerely,

W. J. LAW.

UPPER SEYMOUR STREET,
26th October, 1846.



STRABO

ON THE PASSES OF THE ALPS.

IN the earlier history of the Alps, it is interesting to note the lines by which civilised nations or barbarous hordes are believed to have penetrated from time to time the stern barrier of Italy: we long for a knowledge of the details of those enterprises, and to have described to us the first attempts, which, like the first attempts on Mont Blanc, may probably have failed, as well as the maturer efforts which were successful. While there are not the means of gratifying these desires, there is still much for contemplation. Among the circumstances that excite attention to the character of this chain of mountains, is the long defiance which they presented to the Roman power: they gave passage to the foreign enemy while they denied it to the legions of Rome: in her labours to subdue the world, among the hardest tasks was the conquest of the Alps; Macedon, Carthage, Greece, Spain, owned the supremacy of the domineering republic, while the Alps were almost unassailed.

One great transit of these mountains, made by invaders of Italy, is worthily commemorated: for the struggles of Roman arms made in later times we lament the scantiness of history: we regret the brevity of Caesar, fancying that his combats in the valley of Pragelas or of the Durance would have interested us like those on the banks of

the Saone. Strabo, flourishing in the days of Augustus whom he survived, in his account of Italy and Gaul, has dealt with the Alps as a separate topic of inquiry: but he has not explored their history with much distinctness: he touches in a desultory manner the tracks by which he had heard of their being surmounted; not so that one can draw out a safe list of them. You cannot identify any pass eastward from the Great St. Bernard, excepting the extreme Ocra, as one which he intended: he speaks of "the passes which lead from Italy through the Alps to outer Gaul and the northern region;" and yet he nowhere professedly sets forth the several courses which he considers as within those terms. To a certain point we can plainly see those which he recognised: he recognises the Maritime pass, by speaking of the first Roman conquests beyond the Alps after they had worked their way along the coast in a struggling warfare of many years: he recognises the Mont Genève pass, in setting forth the places that occur in the route from Nîmes, and up the Durance, over the crest of Alps as far as the commencement of the Cisalpine Province: he gives a very particular account of the Val d'Aosta, as leading to the passes now so well known as the Great and Little St. Bernard: when we desire to complete his catalogue, we find a difficulty. He speaks of passages in the more easterly part of the chain as follows:—

After giving a list of objects ending with "the Veragri and the Nantuates and the Lemman lake through which the Rhone is carried, and the source of the river," he proceeds—"And not far from these are the sources of the Rhine, and the mountain Adulas from which flows the Rhine to the north, and the Adua in a contrary direction, running into the Larian lake, which is in front of Como. On one hand the Rhæti and the Vennones, inclining to the East, lie above Como, which is situated in front of the base of the Alps; on the other

“ hand the Lepontii*: and there are the Tridentini, and the
 “ Stoni, who with many more little peoples have occupied
 “ Italy in times past, being without means of wealth and
 “ addicted to plunder: some are now wholly destroyed,
 “ others quite reclaimed, so that mountain passes through
 “ their countries, formerly few and almost impracticable,
 “ can be approached from various points with safety
 “ against man, and are improved, as far as can be, by artifi-
 “ cial means. For Augustus Cæsar, besides extirpating rob-
 “ bers, has applied labour to the roads, to as great an extent
 “ as is possible: you cannot everywhere subdue nature,
 “ overcoming rocks and monstrous precipices: some of
 “ these overhang your path, others fall down below it, so
 “ that on the least aberration from the road the peril is
 “ inevitable, and you must be hurled into bottomless
 “ chasms: indeed the path there is sometimes so narrow
 “ as to cause dizziness to those who walk along it, and
 “ even to the beasts of burthen if not accustomed to it;
 “ those of the country carry their loads through in safety.
 “ There is no remedy for these things; nor can you pre-
 “ vent the slipping down of enormous blocks of ice from
 “ above, which can intercept a whole company of travel-
 “ lers, and carry them all into the chasm yawning beneath:
 “ for there are many strata lying one above another, the

* In order to give sense to $\tau\tilde{\eta}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\tau\tilde{\eta}\ \tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}$, terms which denote two different aspects from which Como is overlooked, I venture to place a stop after Lepontii. This people, which Strabo himself makes Rhetian, and in which Cæsar places the source of the Rhine, may have held some little space east of the St. Gothard: but it stretched to the Gries and the Simplon, and occupied much of the valleys from the Ticino to the Toccia; and it is in that direction that Strabo here apprehends the Lepontii: they surely are not to be bracketed with the Tridentini (Adige) in local contrast to the Rheti, unless you can suppose $\tau\tilde{\eta}\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\tau\tilde{\eta}\ \tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}$ to import different sides of the main chain. For the mountains of the Lepontii, see Pliny iii. 24.

“ snow becoming compact like ice in successive masses,
 “ and the upper masses being from time to time detached
 “ from those within, not waiting for a complete melting by
 “ the suns.”^a

In Cramer's excellent map of ancient Italy the Mont St. Gothard appears as the Adula of Strabo; but Strabo probably intended a more eastern part of the chain: one cannot indeed reconcile his Adua with the mountain stream now called Adda, without making his mountain reach from the Bernhardin to the Stelvio, which is not admissible: if he intended the St. Gothard, he was still more unfortunate in pronouncing it the source both of the Rhine and the Adua. Perhaps Adula may comprehend the range from the Bernhardin to the Julier; and, while he speaks correctly of the Adua below the lake,^b he may above the lake intend under the same name one of the rivers that run past Chiavenna.

It is not easy to select from the now practised passages into the Grisons or the Tyrol those which Strabo had in view: perhaps one might doubt whether he had any particular passage in view; his knowledge of the Alps was derived from books, and these need not have contained all particulars of recent discoveries that were to be desired. In the matter just quoted, after alluding to numerous petty nations, he speaks of *τὰς δι' αὐτῶν ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους* as being improved and multiplied by the efforts of Augustus in the extirpation of robbers and the work of repair: *ὄρους* seems equivalent to *ὄρεινῆς*, and not to refer to Adula: but *ὑπερβολὰς* is hardly equivalent to Strabo's more pointed expression *αἱ ὑπέρβασεις ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν ἔξω Κελτικὴν καὶ τὴν προσάρκτιον*—it need not represent so many independent lines through the main chain; in one course of march across the Alps there

^a Lib. iv. p. 204.

^b Lib. iv. p. 192, 209. Lib. v. p. 213.

might be many *ὑπέρβολαι*. The description which follows of the terrors of the Alps and the merits of Augustus in assuaging them, is perhaps meant to be understood of other parts as well as of these Rhaetian Alps: however he gives to the Rhaeti so considerable a breadth of frontier, making them^a ~~to comprehend the Lepontii, and~~ to approach the district of Verona, while they spread over regions on both sides of the chain,^b that he probably apprehended a plurality of main military or commercial passes through their Alps. In his report of nations situated further to the East, he gives no account of ways through their mountains, till he names the passage of the Carnic Alps, Oera, leading from Aquileia to Nauportus.^c

In all that we find in Strabo concerning Alpine passes, there is nothing that more arrests attention than the short and precise terms in which he refers to his predecessor Polybius: and it is the sentence containing that appeal which has chiefly provoked these remarks; for both the meaning of Strabo's report, and the credit of it, admit of question; and when moreover some uncertainty is found to belong to the received text, we must hesitate as to the facts which should be deemed established on this authority.

His reference to Polybius.

Strabo is commonly supposed to have written the following sentence—*τέτταρας δ' ὑπερέσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον διὰ Λιγύων μὲν, τὴν ἑγγιστα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει· εἶτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν· εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν· τετάρτην δὲ τὴν διὰ Ραιτῶν ἀπίσας κρημνώδεις*—"he names four passes only; that through the Ligyes, being the nearest to the Tyrrhenian sea; then

^a Lib. iv. p. 206.

^b They touch the Lake of Constance, p. 193.

Lib. iv. p. 207.

^c Lib. iv. p. 209.

that through the Taurini, which Hannibal went through; then that through the Salassi; and the fourth through the Rhæti; all precipitous." This sentence, which is throughout interesting, has only attracted notice by the allusion made to Hannibal: and even on that point, though pressed by some as important and slighted by others as unimportant, it cannot be said to have received discussion, excepting in the remarks of M. Letronne.*

An examination of those words is not to be limited to their bearing on the question of Hannibal's pass; but I may first notice them for their effect upon that controversy. The words, as they stand, convey the evidence of Strabo in favour of a pass through what are called the Cottian Alps:^b a more important question is whether they convey the evidence of Polybius to the same effect. The Oxford Dissertation represents that the words ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν are Strabo's own words;^c and by the logic of the sentence this is true: others express the same idea, saying that the words are a parenthetical comment, or gloss, or interpolation of Strabo. But such observations do not deprive the words of importance: Strabo in terms announces four passes as having been named by Polybius; and he would not have appended to one of them this notice of Hannibal, if he had not conceived that Polybius concurred in the fact which is introduced: if, therefore, the sentence deserves to be dealt with at all as an authority on this fact, it must be dealt with as shewing Strabo to have supposed that Polybius intended Hannibal's march through the Taurine pass. Strabo might be under such apprehension erroneously: he might, like others, entertain it for no

* Journal des Savans. Janvier et Décembre, 1819.

^b The Alps above Turin, approachable through Susa, which was the capital of Cottius, or by a more southern route which joins the other at Césanne: Livy's term is Saltus Taurinus.

^c Wickham and Cramer, 2d Edition, 1828, p. 16.

better reason than that the first operations in Italy told by Polybius were against the Taurini: still, if the sentence shews that he did in fact suppose it, the sentence claims attention.

Strabo not a safe quoter.

First, it is useful to consider whether the mere circumstance of Strabo reporting that Polybius had said this or that, ought to satisfy us that he did say so: and here it will be admitted that, if Strabo could misrepresent one author, he might misrepresent another: an instance may be pointed out, a palpable one, of erroneous reference, and on a subject purely geographical. He says in the beginning of the fourth book, that the Gauls beyond the Alps have been usually divided into Aquitani, Celtæ and Belgæ: he exhibits their several boundaries; and then observes, *ὅντω δὲ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Καῖσαρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἔρηκεν*—"thus too the Divine Cæsar has said in his Commentaries." It is true that Cæsar begins his famous work with the words "Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres;" and that his three parts are occupied by the Aquitani, Celtæ, and Belgæ; and so far the reference to him is correct: but as to the particular portions of Gaul which were appropriated to the three leading nations, there is between him and Strabo the gravest discordance.

Cæsar's boundaries are these: he limits the Aquitani to a small region made by the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the Ocean: he limits the Belgæ to a space enclosed by the British channel and North sea on one side, by the course of the Rhine on another, and on the third by a line which you may roughly draw from near Bâle to the Havre: the rest he gives to the Celtæ.* Now observe the apportion-

* Gallos (Celtas) ab Aquitanis Garumna flumen, à Belgis Matrona et Sequana dividit—pars quam Gallos obtinere dictum

ments spoken of by Strabo^a for which he proclaims the concurrence of Cæsar. Having described the Pyrenees as the western side of Gaul, with the Cevennes mountains running from them at right angles through the middle plains, he places the Aquitani against the Pyrenees north of the Cevennes, bounded on the east by the Garonne, on the north by the ocean: he places the Celtæ against the other^b (southern) parts of the mountains, along the maritime districts of Narbonne and Marseille so as to reach the Alps: all the rest he assigns to the Belgæ: he actually gives to them not only all the Belgic of Cæsar, but all the Celtic of Cæsar; while the space which he allows to the Celtæ seems just that which had been the Roman Province, a district of which Cæsar in his *omnis Gallia* takes no account at all.

It is rightly said by Casaubon and Gossellin^c that Cæsar's Gaul is exclusive of the Province: for although there is a hiatus in his delineation between the Rhone and the Garonne, yet we do not find the Mediterranean to make any

est, initium capit a flumine Rhodano: continetur Garumnâ flumine, Oceano, finibus Belgarum: attingit etiam à Sequanis et Helvetiis flumen Rhenum.—De bello Gallico, lib. i. c. 1.

^a Lib. iv. p. 176, 177.

^b M. Coray (*Géog. de Strabon*, tom. ii. p. 2) translates *ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη* "de l'autre côté de la Garonne," which version is adopted in the note of M. Gossellin. This is a mistake, and it led to others: the words concern the mountains, not the river. Strabo has said that the Aquitani and Celtæ lie against the Pyrenees, separated from one another by the Cevennes: to the former he assigns *βόρεια μέρη*, to the latter *θάτερα μέρη*. If any still doubt, I refer them to his subsequent definition of the Province of Narbo, where the Pyrenees are the west side and the Cevennes the north side of his parallelogram.

^c The famous French translation of Strabo, made, at the desire of Napoleon, by M. Du Theil, M. Coray, and M. Letronne, is copiously enriched with the notes of M. Gossellin.

part of the outline : it is clear also that no part east of the Rhone is within his definitions, which it must have been if his Gaul had comprehended the Province : moreover, in saying of the Belgæ that they are the farthest removed à cultu atque humanitate Provinciæ, he plainly considers the Province a thing distinct from Gaul. If, however, you choose to consider the Province as within the Gaul of Cæsar, the only effect will be that the Celtic of Strabo, instead of making no part, will make a small part of the Celtic of Cæsar: the one you cannot stretch beyond Lyon; the other comprehends Brest and Cherbourg.

When all Gaul had become subject to Rome, the provinces were four: the old Province was called, perhaps already called, the Narbonese: the Aquitani gained ground northward to the Loire: territories comprehending the chief part of Switzerland and Burgundy, were added to the Belgæ: and the Celtic of Cæsar, thus narrowed, was called the Province of Lyon.^a Strabo states the fourfold division under Augustus with those denominations: but he states it as if Augustus divided into four that which Cæsar had shewn divided into three;^b he abides by his original views in still giving to the Belgica the whole coast from the Rhine to the Loire;^c and at the same time differs from other writers in assigning to the Lugdunensis τὰ ἄνω μέρη, Switzerland, &c.:^d persevering in his notion of the ancient Celtæ, he says that Augustus declared them to constitute the Province of Narbo;^e and repeats, after his particular account of this Province, that its inhabitants

^a Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. iv. 31 (17) & 33 (19). Ptolem: Lib. ii. c. 7. et, seq.

^b Lib. iv. p. 177.

^c Lib. iv. p. 191, 194, 196. ^d Lib. iv. p. 177, 191, 193.

^e Lib. iv. p. 177. The translators and M. Gosselin say, "réunit les Celtes à la Narbonnoise." I recognise no such idea in the text.

were of old distinguished by the name Celts before the Greeks applied that name to all the Gauls.*

Now it matters little which was the truer history; whether in older times Celt had been the distinctive name for the occupiers of the large district alleged by Cæsar or the small one alleged by Strabo: my point is this, that Cæsar had not written anything like that which Strabo asserts him to have written: there is nothing to justify the *δύτω δ Καίσαρ*: the appeal to the Commentaries is such an act of carelessness as calls upon us to be distrustful of Strabo in such allusions: if there was failure of memory, that same cause might produce error in referring to Polybius; if misapprehension, the case that we are considering is one where misapprehension was at least as probable as in the case of Cæsar's definitions.

The particular fact introduced was not a subject of inquiry to Strabo.

While the specimen just exhibited may well shake our faith in Strabo's reference to the geographical positions and denominations of the earlier writer, those who care for the sentence in question only as it affects the pass of Hannibal, may note whether there is anything peculiar in the circumstances of the subject, that should give weight to this dictum of Strabo. Every case has its own probabilities: thus, if Hannibal's passage of the Alps be a subject in which Strabo took an interest, or to which he gave attention, his allusion to the opinion of another person may have more claim to credit. It rather seems probable that he never concerned himself on the question, nor knew that it was exciting the debate of others: there is not in all his works an allusion to the Carthaginian march from Spain to

* Lib. iv. p. 189.

Italy excepting in the three words ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν: he has exhibited the geography of Valentia, Catalonia, the Pyrenees, outer Gaul and the regions of the Rhone, the approaches to the Alps, the Alps themselves, and the countries of northern Italy which are spread within them: the invading march traversed all these; nevertheless, until it reaches the confines of Etruria, there has been no allusion to it by Strabo, save in those three words. When we consider his general habit of illustrating geography by famous features of history, we may fairly think that, if he had heeded the controversy which Livy had taken up, and had traced the march by the Taurine pass, he would hardly have left the track without some commemoration of the great exploit. In his own geography of the Alps, he particularly gives a Cottian line from Spain to Italy, naming places that occur in it, with the distances between them; but no note of Hannibal: if the words ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν, found in his catalogue of the passes of Polybius, should be shifted from the one pass and attached to another, there is not a thought in Strabo's works that would be offended by the exchange.

Not probable that Polybius wrote what is imputed to him.

In estimating the value of Strabo's reference or, as it is commonly called, quotation, we may remark that something must depend on the probability that Polybius should have recognised the four passes imputed, and that he should have so made a list of them. Here one cannot help observing, that if he had been prepared with these denominations, there were not wanting opportunities of applying them: he tells of the early invasions of Northern Italy by the Gauls, and of their irruption before the second Punic war: they are believed to have penetrated through what we call the valley of Aosta: he might have in-

introduced them διὰ Σαλασσῶν. He details the invasion of Hannibal; he might, according as truth required, have introduced him διὰ Σαλασσῶν or διὰ Ταυρίνων. He records the march of the Consul Opimius into the territory of the Oxybii, and might have named the pass διὰ Λιγύων. We have in the second book his geographical description of Italy, the plains of Italy, the great river of Italy, the seas of Italy, the mountains of Italy: if he recognised by those titles four entrances through the great barrier, he might have added this information to the rest.

One cannot doubt that Polybius had said in the course of his writings many things from which others might infer his knowledge of certain ways through the Alps: but it may be doubted that he ever gave a catalogue of them. Let us, however, suppose that he apprehended four passes, τέτταρας ὑπερβάσεις: would they have been the four named by Strabo; was his list Strabo's list, διὰ Λιγύων, διὰ Ταυρίνων, διὰ Σαλασσῶν, διὰ Παιτῶν? Of a Rhætian pass nothing appears in his surviving works; but we may well believe that he obtained information of such an entrance when he visited the Italian lakes: indeed it may be that some mountain course in these regions had been already opened by invading hordes; the same possibly as was afterwards their avenue in the time of Marius: without supposing that these Alps were ever penetrated by Polybius himself, we may believe that he recognised a Rhætian pass. Another point is certain, namely, that he was informed on the coast passage between Nice and Ventimiglia: during his life the Romans were bringing their schemes on this coast line to maturity, and he records their first success in that direction.* Let us then assume that, of some four passes, these as the two extreme ones must have been recognised in his works; and let us conjecture two others that he was likely to commemorate: I

* Pol. Hist. lib. xxxiii. 7, 8.

maintain that the Pennine and the Graian (as they were afterwards called) were more probable objects of his knowledge than those which Strabo reports, the Salassian and the Taurine: and for these reasons—1. The Salassian in Strabo means both the Great St. Bernard and the Little St. Bernard: Polybius would not, as imputed, have used the singular, *τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν*, to express them. 2. The Taurine is likely to have been unknown to him and the Romans altogether.

Polybius would not have so mentioned a Salassian pass.

If Strabo had quoted from Polybius the words *ὑπέρβασις διὰ Σαλασσῶν*, not himself aiding his readers to find out the meaning of them, we might perhaps endeavour to suppose that Polybius was only aware of one pass to be approached through the Salassian valley. But Strabo has given a meaning to the expression before he comes to use it in setting forth the list of Polybius: and when here he again uses the same expression, we must take him to use it in the same sense. He has applied the singular term *ὑπέρθεσις* (which he employs indiscriminately with *ὑπέρβασις*) to the two passes; passes so different that their lines go away from one another at a right angle, leaving Mont Blanc and his dependencies between them; so different, that before the term *ὑπέρβασις* begins to be well applicable, the road of approach which was common to them has ceased to be so. No ambiguity attaches from this to Strabo's own narrative; for he proceeds to say that the *ὑπέρθεσις* is a double one: still the expression was faulty, and the question is whether Polybius can have fallen into this inaccuracy, which Strabo certainly fell into himself. Speaking before of the main passes of Alps, Strabo says that there is, among the *ὑπερθέσεις ἐκ τῆς*

Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν ἔξω Κελτικὴν καὶ τὴν προσάρκτιον, this one, ἢ διὰ Σαλασσῶν ἄγουσα ἐπὶ Λούγδουνον: and what does he mean by this transcendent of Alps leading to Lyon? He means both the Great St. Bernard and the Little St. Bernard: for he adds that it is twofold, one practicable for a waggon, from its greater length (i. e. lesser steepness) through the Centrones; the other steep and narrow, but short, through the Pænine.* This is Strabo's own matter, as may be seen on noticing the context: these summits had never felt a waggon in the days of Polybius.

Strabo has made this statement on his own account, before he comes to impute to Polybius that he had named τὴν ὑπέρβασιν διὰ Σαλασσῶν: accordingly, in imputing that he had named one pass, he recognises that he was acquainted with two. I doubt not that Polybius was aware of the two passes; but I cannot believe that he reckoned the two as one in a list of four: and I find herein one of many reasons for discrediting, as quotation, the matter which Strabo appears to advance from the work of the historian. Those who are more familiar with the Alps above Turin, may understand that the inaccuracy is the same as if you should call the pass of the Genève and the pass of the Cenis one ὑπέρβασις leading to Grenoble.

Strabo's impression that Polybius had been informed on the two Salassian passes was reasonable: if we may assume that the travels of Polybius carried him into this region, it is probable that, whether or not he personally explored both routes that lead thence through the Alps, he would gain the knowledge of their existence: the great stream of

* Lib. iv. p. 208, &c. The Pænine, Penine, or Pennine, is the Great St. Bernard: the Centrones held the Little St. Bernard and the Tarentaise.

barbarians had issued from the Alps into Italy through that valley : the researches of Niebuhr have enabled him to pronounce as a certain fact that the Gauls came down into Italy through the valley of Aosta. Those invasions must have given to that portion of the Alps an interest calculated to engage the attention of Polybius : he records the inroad of the Gauls and their expulsion of the Etruscans, also the more recent invasion by the Gæsataë, but says nothing of the passes of Alps through which the way was opened. The main channel was probably the Great St. Bernard :^a in ascending the Rhone the Gaulish multitudes had followed the invitations of nature : pushing up from the lake of Geneva, they pursued the course of the great river which seemed to lead directly to their object, the Italy which they coveted : when that guide deserted them by its reflected course at Martigny, they desisted not from their enterprise ; they still moved onward to the sun, and by a short though difficult effort found the desired plains. The notoriety of this Salassian route as the course of those invaders, and the reputation which the other must from its facility always have had among the natives of the district, seem to make it necessary that one who visited the valley of the Doria should become instructed upon them. Still I ask, could Polybius have called the two things one : when he stood gazing at the distant wonders of that valley,

^a It is said in the Oxford Dissertation, p. 29, " Polybius (iii. 48) clearly intimates that Hannibal followed the same route " which the Gæsataë had taken to cross the Alps." I do not so understand Polybius : the authors intend that the Gæsataë crossed the Graian Alp : perhaps on reflection they may consent to bring them from the Upper Rhone ; especially as they are sure (from Cæsar) that the gæsūm was in use there :—not that this tells much ; notwithstanding their opinion and that of Niebuhr, M. Du Theil may judge well in saying that Polybius is the best authority for the meaning of Gæsataë. Strabon, tom. ii. Eclaircissemens, p. 15.

(a happiness that Strabo may have envied as I do) the giant pinnacles clothed with eternal snow rising in the centre of the scene, could he note a route which sought the transalpine to the left hand, and a route which sought the transalpine to the right hand, as one *ὑπέρβασις*, one transcendent of Alps? Mont Blanc stood before him, to prohibit such abuse of language.

A Taurine pass need not have been known in his time.

In considering whether Polybius might be ignorant of the pass which was afterwards called *Saltus Taurinus*, we must not be influenced by the notoriety of the routes through these Alps in later ages: we are to remember the times of which we speak: it is easy to say, "Polybius must have known of the Taurine pass;" it is not so easy to give a reason for it. There are now three ways out of Italy over the mountains which may come under the name Cottian or Taurine: one which, crossing the plain from Turin to Pignerolo, finds the valley of the Clusone,^a and goes over the Col de Sestriere before it brings you to Césanne and the Mont Genève; one which goes straight away from Turin up through Susa to Césanne and the Mont Genève; a third which, being the same to Susa, strikes northward over the Mont Cenis. There is no certain evidence concerning the first of these before Cæsar, but it can hardly be doubted that Pompey found it before him: the second is spoken of as opened in the time of Augustus: the third is first mentioned in history as the pass of Charlemagne. Why must Polybius have known of any pass through these Alps?

As the distinction between the line of Cæsar and that of Augustus has been questioned, I must shortly allude to

^a Val Pragelas—prato gelato.

it. Cæsar's line would certainly be the same as Pompey's; and the question is this—assuming, as we may do, that Pompey fought his way over the Mont Genève fifty or sixty years before Cottius, the sovereign of those middle Alps, constructed in aid of Rome a way over them through his own capital Susa,^a we inquire, did Pompey, and others seeking the Mont Genève during those fifty years, use this same line through Susa, or the other known line, which lay through a more southern part of the states subject to Cottius, and in which stands now the famous fortress of Fenestrelles.

Here it will be remembered that Cæsar's route was through *Ocelum citerioris provinciæ extremum*:^b and the route which Strabo describes was the same, for that also brings you to *Ὠκελον τὸ πέρας τῆς Κοττίου γῆς*:^c accordingly we look for the site of Ocelum, to decide the question. Many eminent commentators before D'Anville had insisted upon Oulx or Exilles, places in the descent to Susa, as representing the ancient Ocelum. D'Anville^d exploded those notions by this simple comment—in Ocelum

^a This is particularly told by Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xv.), who compiled a history from earlier works: he mentions this event as taking place after the Gauls had been brought into subjection: Cottius is represented then as *solus in angustiis latens—inviâ locorum asperitate confisus—lenito tandem tumore in amicitiam Octaviani receptus principis*—the route described as constructed by the friendship of Cottius in his own Alps is unequivocally that of the Itineraries: an ascent is described from Segusio (Susa); then, a planities adusque stationem nomine Martis; and afterwards a much steeper and almost impracticable ascent to the vertex Matronæ (Mont Genève). This good understanding between Cottius and Augustus is shown by Pliny. *Hist. Nat. Lib. iii. 24. (20.)*

^b *De bello Gallico. lib. 1. c. 8.*

^c *Lib. iv. p. 179. Lib. v. p. 217.*

^d *Notice de l'ancienne Gaule. Ocelum; also Scingonagus.*

we look for the limit of the Cisalpine Province, a point where it touched the land of Cottius: Oulx and Exilles are in the heart of his dominions, between Susa his capital and the summit of the Alps. He then pointed out Ucello, a village near Fenestrelles in the valley of the Clusone (or Chissone, whichever it be) as the ancient Ocelum; and this has been very generally assented to: Ocelum, he thinks, belonged to the Garoceli, a people who opposed Cæsar and who may have occupied the Col de Sestrière and indeed the Mont Genèvre: in all probability Pompey had retained the place when he first forced these passes, and established it with a garrison as the Roman frontier post.

The learned author of *Chorographie de la Provence*, (I have not seen the work itself) Honoré Bouche,* had apprehended that Ocelum could not be in the route of Fenestrelles, on the ground of certain distances set forth by Strabo, who is commonly understood as meaning that Ocelum, being on the boundary of the Province, is 99 miles from Embrun on the Durance, and that an intermediate place called Scingomagus, being at the boundary of Italy, is 27 miles short of Ocelum.^b Now, in the first place, you cannot safely pronounce from the existing text what was Strabo's distance between Ebrodunum and Ocelum: all the manuscripts express it by *ἄλλοι τοσούτοι*, and it is only by converting this into *ἄλλα τοσάυτα*,^c so as to make it suit miles and not stades, that M. Bouche's argument has anything to stand upon: if the rest of the sentence were altogether clean, that correction might

* He is cited on this subject by D'Anville, who differs from him; and by Wesseling, who agrees with him: see W.'s edition of the *Itinéraires*, 1735, pp. 556—7.

^b Lib. iv. p. 179.

^c The meaning (99 miles more) has long been given in translations: it is now for the first time brought into the text by Kramer,

safely be accepted : but there are many perplexities which it would be tedious to try to unravel here : and if, as appears, some words are redundant and others misplaced, some prior distances in the route being also very questionable, we cannot safely build an argument on *ἄλλοι τοσόντοι*. Those who are satisfied both that this distance was written by Strabo as 99 miles, and that it was in fact 99 miles, will certainly reject Ucello as the terminus.

But on what grounds are we asked to imagine Ocelum and Scingomagus in the imperial route through Susa and Turin? It is pointed out that there is a place in that route at the distance from Embrun of 10½ miles, which differs little from 99: this is the station "Ad Fines," which must be near to Avillano: also there is a place 33 miles above it,^b which differs little from 27; this is Susa. Now when we are here asked to accept "Ad Fines," or Avillano, as identical with Ocelum, and Susa with Scingomagus, the observation that occurs is this; that the places named by Strabo are not to be found in the imperial route, and that the places named in the imperial route are not to be found in Strabo. We may be told that Strabo, living when he did, must have had a knowledge of the improved way, and would not have selected any less important way on which to instruct his readers: it is true he might have known it: he might have been informed on the conciliations in the Susan valley as he was of the massacres in the Salassian valley; but the plain fact is, that he was not: he mentions *Κοττίου γῆ* as the name of a district; but of Cottius himself, whether as a king or

who, always studying to make grammar safe, not unreasonably prints *ἄλλα τοσάυτα*.—Strabonis Geographica recensuit, commentario critico instruxit Gustavus Kramer, Gynnasii Regii Gallici Director. Berolini. 1844. The first volume contains six books: I do not know that a second is yet published.

^a Anton. Itin. De Italiâ in Gallias. Edit. Wesseling, p. 341.

a roadmaker, he says not a word: is it credible that, if Strabo had before him this new Cottian road with its stations, he should describe a course over those Alps into Italy, and again a course to those Alps out of Italy, never naming either Susa or Turin as one of the stations that belonged to it? No tidings of the new road had ever reached him.

The more plausible argument of M. Bouche, and which seems to have much influenced the opinion of Wesseling, was this: Scingomagus is called by Strabo the beginning of Italy, and the Itinerary calls Susa* the beginning of Italy—again, Ocelum was at the beginning of the Province, and “Ad Fines” imports the beginning of the Province. Let us admit that the two former places were both rightly called the beginning of Italy, one by Strabo, the other by Augustus and Antoninus; also that “Ad Fines” may have answered to the beginning of the Province as well as Ocelum. What then? there is here the disproof, not the proof of the respective identities of those places: we are not employed in fixing points on an admitted line: there are competing lines; and places with

* There happens to be the clearest proof against the identity of Scingomagus and Susa: Pliny, having occasion (H. N. lib. ii. 112), in a succession of long distances, to mention a stretch from Rome to the frontier, uses the expression “Alpes usque et Cingomagus vicum,” thus confirming the reputation of this old boundary point. But did he mean Susa? No: he speaks of that place by its usual name, Segusio. Hist. Nat. Lib. iii. 21. (17.) If I am told that Pliny would naturally be referring to a place in the great imperial road, I answer that he is not talking about roads: he is going from one end of the world to the other in a very few strides, the first being from the Ganges to the Euphrates: fifty years hence a man will be found pronouncing some old reputed distance from London to the Scottish border, without adverting to the new Itinerary of the rail.

their names are referred to as evidence of the one which we seek: the boundary course of the Province, drawn irregularly from North to South, necessarily crossed both the lines that we speak of as routes leading from the plain to the summit; and the boundary course of Italy being further in the mountains, necessarily crossed both lines: each line had its point where the Province ended; each line had its point where Italy ended: in the new road those points might be Avillano and Susa: in the old one they were Ocelum and Scingomagus. As one line of ascent superseded the other in the time of Augustus, the memorial of those boundary points was perpetuated in the superseding line: in this line Ocelum and Scingomagus do not appear; and we reasonably believe that, if the other line had been retained and registered, they would have appeared. This reason, together with the similarity of Ucello to Ocelum, the fact of the new road constructed through the Susa of Cottius in the time of Augustus, and the evident ignorance of that new road on the part of Strabo, surely outweigh the argument now resting solely on distances equivocally expressed in a corrupted sentence.

Why must Polybius have been acquainted with these Alps? He was an enterprising traveller: but this region was not inviting: in matters of art and antiquity it had not the attraction that belonged to other parts of Italy; not the same interest from Greek connection or tradition. It is likely, however, to be urged that he tracked the footsteps of Hannibal, and therefore must have been at Turin: but in answer I say, first, that his object was to investigate the Carthaginian course through the Alps; and that, unless the Taurine town lay in that track (a question which I exclude from this comment),^a he need not have deviated

^a I must keep away from that controversy altogether, or be hampered with it throughout.

to the scene of a particular exploit in Italy. But further, I do not consent to assume that there was such a place as Turin for him to go to: commentators have certainly concurred in the local identity of the Taurine town of Polybius with Turin: my friends of the Oxford Dissertation speak, like others, of "the capture of Turin by Hannibal:"^a but is there not some rashness in this? Augustus founded the city of Turin: why must the rough people that occupied the foot of the mountain range two hundred years before that event have had their chief town down in the plain, and at the angle of rivers where he chose to found that city? Strabo explains to us the Augusta of the Salassi; not a word of the Augusta Taurinorum, nor of any Taurine station in the route that he had to speak of: we can look for aid to none but Polybius himself; and the only situation of the Taurine town to which he guides us is *πρὸς τῇ παρωρείᾳ*,^b "just in front of the mountain side:" the town, then, that was sacked by Hannibal may have been far enough north of Turin;^c for the Ligurians are supposed to have reached to the Orgus; and the Taurini were the last of them, that is to say the lowest down the Po. But if you question this scope of Taurine territory, still why Turin? identity supposes continuance during the interval, the 200 years: and who can say that the *βαρυνάτη πόλις Ταυρινῶν* continued to be a town after the invasion of it and massacre of its inhabitants by the Carthaginian soldiery! Polybius has been criticised, and perhaps justly, for applying the

^a Second edition, pp. 123, 124.

^b Polyb. Hist. iii. c. 60, 8.

^c This suggestion may be acceptable both to those who favour the Taurine and to those who favour the Graian as Hannibal's course: the former find Turin rather too close to the invaders while they remained in camp recovering from their miseries: for the latter, it shortens the extra viam made for attacking the town.

term πόλις where it was not deserved;^a and he is himself the best witness to the frail and perishable character of a Cisalpine town: he says of the Gauls (and higher civilisation is not to be presumed in the Ligurians), "they lived in unwall'd villages, unacquainted with artificial com-forts: with their beds of rushes and their chief diet of meat, practising only war and agriculture, they led simple lives: ignorant of other science or art, the wealth of each was his cattle and his gold, as in all change of circumstance these were easy to be shifted with themselves at their pleasure."^b Strabo says of the Ligurians of the Apennine that they lived in villages, and that their country possessed nothing worthy for him to relate.^c

While I recognise no necessity that Polybius ever stood on the site of Turin, I may further ask what provocation was there in those days for any writer to record a Taurine pass? When we talk of a pass of Alps as known or unknown, we intend the recognition of a great channel for armies or merchandise, not the belief or disbelief of mountain tracks for the natives: the existence of these would always be presumed in any part of the chain, but would not be recorded in a short historical catalogue of Passes of Alps. In the days of Polybius a Taurine pass, unless it were the line of Hannibal (a topic here excluded), had no historical importance, no claim to Roman acquaintance: Cæsar in a later day relates the commerce of the Great St. Bernard:^d we hear nothing of the commerce of the Genèvre: as a military course, we feel assured that no Roman force had ever been through those Alps: and according to the best opinion, they had not been the course of any

^a τοὺς πύργους καλοῦντα πόλεις. Strabo, lib. iii. p. 163.

^b Pol. Hist. lib. ii. c. 17, 9, &c.

^c Lib. v. p. 218.

^d De bello Gallico. lib. iii. c. 1.

Gaulish invasion: Livy's fable of Bellovesus is exploded by Niebuhr with its political improbabilities and chronological errors.^a

It is possible that the great authority to which I refer might be here cited against me, as intimating an early Roman acquaintance with those Cottian Alps. There is a passage in Dr. Schmitz's notes of Niebuhr's latter lectures which certainly seems to assume their knowledge of the Genève as early as the invasion of Hannibal: it is in the ninth lecture—"Hannibal now marched further up the Rhone, and Scipio returned to his ships, though he might have been of real service to his country, if he had taken his road towards Briançon and Susa: for he would thus have been able to attack the rear of the Carthaginians, while the Gauls might have stopped the vanguard by an abattis."^b There can be no doubt that this is an accurate report: the world is under great obligation to Dr. Leonhard Schmitz for the courageous act of publishing his most interesting and well written volumes: he fairly points out the necessary causes of their imperfection: in putting together the minutes of listeners to those rapid and comprehensive effusions, some variations from the original were inevitable. But it is plain also, that in the gigantic effort of wielding the details of all authors and all their interpreters in an extempore lecture, minor faults, whether of fact or comment, could not be altogether avoided:^c and one need not hesitate to say that, in all the speculations on the events of the period, there is not a

^a Lib. v. c. 34—"a fabrication without the slightest historical ground." Translation of Niebuhr, 3d edit. vol. ii. p. 516, &c.

^b Vol. i. p. 169.

^c I conceive that the statements, in the same lecture, of Hannibal crossing the Ebro in May, and reaching the summit of Alps in September, are but the errors of rapid recapitulation, which must have been avoided in a deliberate publication.

wilder notion than this, that Scipio ought to have struggled through the Mont Genève for the chance of worrying the tail of Hannibal's march after his entrance into Italy: it assumes the easy faculty of a transit, which the Romans, if ever they attempted, never accomplished till near a century and a half after the time in question. In this particular matter we may recommend the sound and interesting remarks of Dr. Arnold on the policy of Scipio in sending his army forward to Spain.*

The early Po of Polybius.

A discussion which concerns the knowledge that Polybius and those of his day might have of an ascent of Alps from the Ligurian portion of the plain, necessarily draws us to notice what he has said of the great Italian river: for it is likely to be supposed that his study of the Po would of itself lead him to an acquaintance with the region of Turin. We see that towards the North-west parts of the plain of Italy certain rivers, some flowing from the North, some from the West, and some from the South, come together and form one great stream, the Po, which runs eastward and discharges himself into the Adriatic gulph. The name Po ought to belong by preference to one of the earlier contribuent streams: but all things have a beginning; and there was a time when the claims to that title had not been ascertained, when the dignity had not been awarded so as to be recognised by the literary world. Modern geographers dignify with the name Po a river that springs in Monte Viso, and, after making a certain sweep, flows northward to join the others: the same thing is found in Pliny: I do not, however, conceive that Poly-

* History of Rome, vol. iii. c. 43, p. 81.

bis or the Romans of his day had arrived at any such opinion, and I will state my reasons.

Polybius says that the Po has his early streams from the Alps, rather towards the apex of the triangle, *ὡς πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν μάλλον*: he has before said that the Alps constitute one side of the great Padan plain, the other side being the Apennine, and the base the Adriatic^a—he says that the river at first makes his course to the South, *ὡς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν*; that after reaching the plain he bends eastward and discharges himself into the Adriatic; that he thus bisects the plain, leaving to the part which is towards the Alps and the Adriatic gulph the larger half.^b

One critic who desires, for the credit of Polybius, to derive his infant Po from the region of Monte Viso, quotes him as saying "at the apex of the triangle," which he understands to mean the very south-west corner of the plain where Alps and Apennine meet; and he desires to alter the text in which the course of the river is explained, so as to suit his notion of the source: he asks to substitute *ἀπὸ* for *ἐπὶ*, thus carrying the stream from the South instead of to the South.^c Others, zealous in the same cause, seek to reconcile the idea of first running South with the Po of to-day, by declaring that the very first direction from his cradle in Monte Viso is for a short way really Southward: if this is true, there is an unavailing refinement in such a mode of conciliation; when admitted, it does but patch up one item of a definition at the expense of the rest.

I rather desire to vindicate what Polybius has written than pretend to correct it: he could not refer to an accurate survey: none had been made: he could not appre-

^a Pol. Hist. lib. ii. xiv. 9, 10, 11.

^b Pol. Hist. lib. ii. xvi. 6, 7.

^c The March of Hannibal from the Rhone to the Alps, by Henry Hawes Long, Esq., p. 103.

ciate the squareness of the plain against the Western Alps: he tells those for whose instruction he is framing a rough sketch, that the early stream of the Po comes from the Alps, the northern side of the triangle; and that his point of exit from that side is "rather towards the apex," that is to say, rather towards the apex than the base. The qualification *ὥς* with the comparative *μᾶλλον πρὸς* permit us to seek in the region towards the Orgus and the Doria, a stream which may correspond with the course expressly prescribed to the river, being "Southward into the plain, afterwards to the East." This is a fair description: so much of our Po as he did not recognise is a small fraction of the whole line; much of it not navigable: why struggle to make his accuracy greater than it is? to all the deeper Po Polybius accords the name: he shews how this noble stream divides the fertile plain of Italy from West to East: and thus he enables us to understand the mutual approach of Hannibal and Scipio along the north side of the river, movements which he describes as "on that side which is towards the Alps;" adding, that one had the river on his right hand, the other on his left.^a

Polybius further explains his meaning with notices, that make it impossible to maintain that he could apprehend, as the chief of the upper streams, a river that has his source in or near to Monte Viso: he assigns to the regions of the early Po tribes who are known to have belonged to the plain of the Doria: in recording the immigrations of the Gauls into Italy, he states the Lai and Lebecii to have

^a Pol. Hist. lib. iii. lxx. 1. Some will say that the Po is here mistaken for the Ticinus: see Cramer's *Ancient Italy*, vol. i. p. 54. There is no mistake here: it is demonstrable that the river of the history, commonly construed the Ticinus, is the Po, and not the Ticinus. Great names can perpetuate error: the names of Niebuhr and Arnold will perpetuate error on the battle of the Trebia.

occupied the first plains situated near the early fountains of the Po, τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ Πάδου κείμενα.^a If with Niebuhr we believe the invading hordes to have poured themselves down the valley of Aosta, the first plains that offered themselves were those about the Doria, and there we must apprehend the Lai and Lebecii, and consequently the early Po of Polybius. But we need not appeal to Niebuhr: Polybius is his own interpreter: next to the Lai and Lebecii down the Po he places the Insubres; a people whose recognised position, the Milanese, fixes the position of their neighbours, and confirms them in the occupancy of the Dorian plain; which plain therefore by the words of Polybius lay upon the early streams of the Po. With so much concurring evidence, I must believe Polybius to have intended that which his words convey as to the course of the river: he adds that the name applied to the Po by the natives was Bodencus:^b this too seems consistent with the rest; for the town named by Pliny, Bodincomagus,^c is found to have been just above the conflux of the Doria.^d

Those who have made strong charges against the geography of Polybius will perhaps accept this opinion as a confes-

^a Pol. Hist. lib. ii. xvii. 4. Some have understood ἀνατολὰς here to mean "East." I do not agree with them: but, if the word did mean East, it would constitute an additional argument in favour of my construction; for, as those tribes were certainly Transpadane, if you speak of them as on the East bank, you must be supposing the river to run South.

^b Παρὰ τοῖς ἐγγχωρίοις προσαγορεύεται Βόδεγκος. Pol. Hist. lib. ii. xvi. 12.

^c Hist. Nat. Lib. iii. c. 21. Ligurum quidem linguâ amnem ipsum Bodincum vocari, quod significat fundo carentem, cui argumento adest oppidum juxtâ Industria, vetusto nomine Bodincomagus, ubi præcipua altitudo incipit.

^d Cramer's Anc. Italy, vol. i. 31.

sion of his error: but it is none: if Polybius should have deemed either the Orgus or the Doria to be the Po, this was not error unless it was opposed to the knowledge of his own times: and who shall say that the innumerable streams which compose the flood that pours into the Adriatic were classed by the geographers of that day as we class them now: who shall pretend to fix the time when the Romans first applied the same name to a torrent that gushes from the shoulder of Vesulus and to the stream that washes the walls of Cremona? The largest contributor ought to bear the great name in his infancy: but, when the Alps and the floods to which they gave birth were independent of and untouched by Rome, geographers could not pronounce for each confluence which was the worthier stream: and if in 150 A. C., any Consul, Prætor, or Ædile had been asked where was the first fountain of the Po, perhaps he would have been found to have no definite ideas on the subject. A deliberate selection of the predominant stream, where there are so many competitors, is the result of survey made when a district comes under settled dominion: such dominion was wanting to a late day: the one fact, that the memorial of Hannibal's route was in the time of Augustus brought into confusion, shews how feeble in the interval had been the connection between Rome and the Alps: a familiarity with the Ligurian tributaries of the Po was not likely to precede her acquaintance with the coast side of the Apennine; and what says Strabo himself on the conquest of the latter region, the avenue to Spain, the first line by which the Romans ever burst the mountain barrier of Italy? He says, "all that they did after a war of eighty years was to compel the natives to leave them free a space, a mile and a half wide, as an open way."* In these eighty years Polybius passed from the cradle to the grave; and it was about two centuries later

* Lib. iv. p. 203.

that Pliny stated the Po to rise in Vesulus.^a It is possible that this notion was countenanced in the time of Augustus: he coaxed and conciliated the Alps that looked down upon his new town of Turin, though he did not proceed to include them in the Province;^b and, as that mountain did in his time come to have a name, we are at liberty to conjecture that some may have already deemed it the source of the Po: but it cannot with any safety be assumed: what is the evidence of the contemporary Strabo: perhaps it can be shewn that his Po knew neither Viso nor Turin, but descended from more Northern mountains: in that case Polybius and those of his day may the more readily be excused, that they also knew little of the higher streams.

The early Po of Strabo.

If Strabo had apprehended that Vesulus gave birth to the Po, he would perhaps have said so, as he has said that Adula gives birth to the Rhine: from what he has written upon the Po, it seems clear to me that he conceived the fountains to lie far north of Monte Viso and of the Cottian Alps. Before I quote his words, I may say that the argument will rest chiefly on his assertion, that the source of the Po and the source of the Doria are very near together: this latter river, Doire Baltique, known to all who cross the Great or Little St. Bernard, or who by other access find themselves in the rear of Mont Blanc, rises from the Col de la Seigne, passes through the Allée Blanche below the Southern heights of Mont Blanc, and under the glacier de Brenva; then flows by Courmayeur, Pré St. Didier, Aosta and Ivrea, to join the Po.^c

^a Hist. Nat. Lib. iii. 20 (16).

^b See Suetonius, Life of Nero—item Alpium (regnum) defuncto Cottio, in provinciæ formam redegit.

^c D'Auvillè always placed the source of the Doria in the

If Strabo had only said that the fountains of the two rivers were very near one to the other, an interpreter of his opinions would be as well justified in supposing that he placed the source of the Doria too far south, as in supposing that he placed the source of the Po too far north: but his own writings solve this question: in them we do not perceive any acquaintance with the higher Po, and we do perceive that he had very full and accurate information concerning the Doria: accordingly, when he has erroneously approximated two things which are remote from one another, it is reasonable to impute the error to misapprehension of that on which he was ill informed, and not of that whereof he had a just conception.

This unequal knowledge of the two things is quite apparent: the highest point of the Po of which mention is made in the work of Strabo is at the influx of the river Doria: he names no tributary falling in on the left bank at any higher point: on the right bank he names none above the Trebia. As to his knowledge of the Doria, he traces that river almost to the region of Mont Blanc: both his geography and his history of the Dorian valley reach with precision to the approaches of the Great St. Bernard

Alpis Graia (Ancienne Gaule. Medulli, and Druentia.) Those whose geography is more precise give the name to the remoter stream, whose course I have described.—De Saussure, s. 855, s. 876, s. 906—Professor Forbes (*Travels through the Alps of Savoy*, Edinburgh, 1843), p. 179, 193, 204, 213. Cramer's *Ancient Italy*, vol. i. p. 50. In the Oxford Dissertation, by an oversight, the Baltea coming from the Ruitor is said to join the Doria coming from the L. St. Bernard, at the village of La Tuile: two torrents meet at that point, and De Saussure, s. 2228, calls their joint stream which runs down into the Doria, la Tuile. Probably it is most correct to say that the Baltea from the Ruitor receives the Tuile under the L. St. Bernard, and then rushes down to meet the Doria at Pré St. Didier.

and the Little St. Bernard; which passes were accurately presented to his mind, the latter as belonging to the Centrones, the former as mounting to the Veragri, and descending to the valley of the Rhone; and each of them as a way to Lyon. Thus it is a just inference, that, when he alleged the sources of the two rivers to be near together, he erred in making that of the Po to be near to the actual source of the Doria, whose course was rightly known to him; and the result is that his Po is no offspring of Monte Viso.

This might suffice; but, as I find, among those whose authority is very high on these subjects, a prevailing notion that Strabo here meant to speak, not of the great Doria, but of the Doria Minor, or Riparia, the river of Susa; and that in the description he introduced the Salassi, who dwell upon the great Doria, by mistake; the subscribers to this opinion being men no less considerable than D'Anville, Gossellin, Cramer, and Larauza; I must strengthen my foundation before I build upon it. D'Anville says on this passage of Strabo, "*il tombe dans une méprise à l'égard de la Doria Riparia en disant qu'elle coule chez les Salassi.*"^a Gossellin says, "*Strabon confond le Dorias Major avec le Dorias Minor.*"^b Larauza to the same effect, "*Il est évident que Strabon plaçant la source de la Durance près de celle de la Doire, et lui faisant ensuite traverser le pays des Salassi, a confondu le Doria Baltea avec le Doria Riparia.*"^c Cramer, describing the Doria Riparia, refers to this passage of Strabo and to no other authority.^d

Now if the meaning of these criticisms had been, that

^a Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule.—Druentia, and Medulli.

^b Géographie de Strabon. tom. ii. p. 91, n. 2.

^c Histoire Critique du Passage des Alpes par Annibal. Paris, 1826, p. 169.

^d Ancient Italy. Vol. i. p. 35.

Strabo had read something about Doria, which the writer had meant for Minor Doria, but which he, apprehending no second river of that name, understood as the great Doria, then these criticisms would give me no concern: but their intention is, that Strabo himself meant to speak of the Doria Minor or Riparia, and by some strange blunder introduced the Salassi.^a In resistance of so great an error so respectably supported, I must cite the author himself, and largely enough for vindicating my assertions.

Strabo, having just said of the Vocontii^b that they reach to the Allobroges,^c proceeds to speak of those who lie within the Vocontii more towards the main chain of Alps; and he says this:—"After the Vocontii are the Iconii^d and the Tricorii;^e and after them the Medulli "occupy the highest summits, the direct height of which "is, they say, 100 stadia in ascent, and the same again in "descent to the bounds of Italy. Up in some hollow "parts there stands a great lake, and two springs, not far "one from the other: from one of these the Druentia

^a Salassi, a nation among the mountains, in the higher valley of the Doria Baltea.

^b Vocontii. They owned a great extent on the Durance, and came to a point at the Isère, near Grenoble.

^c The Allobroges held Northern Dauphiné and part of Savoy, spreading up to Geneva: the Isère was their boundary as far as Conflans.

^d Iconii, probably the Uceni of Pliny. Nat. Hist. lib. iii. 24. No writer names both Iconii and Uceni. These are supposed to have owned Bourg d'Oisans, near the Romanche: probably they held, in addition to their mountains, the plain of the Isère between the Drac and the Arc: there is no trace of these rivers in any Greek or Roman author.

^e Tricorii. They were south of the Uceni or Iconii, and east of the Vocontii.

“ flows in one direction and falls into the Rhone ; in the
 “ contrary direction the Doria flows, and, running through
 “ the Salassi into Cisalpine Gaul, falls into the Po : from the
 “ other spring on a much lower level, flows the Po himself.
 “ In his progress he becomes larger and quieter, and
 “ receives increase from many rivers ; in the plain he be-
 “ comes broader still, and as he pours on, has a more
 “ extended but less vigorous stream : he falls into the
 “ Adriatic sea, having become the greatest river of Europe
 “ after the Danube.”

“ The Medulli * lie farthest above the confluence of the
 “ Isère with the Rhone : on the other side of the moun-

* Medulli. Strabo has before said that the Vocontii, Iconii, Tricorii, and Medulli, *ὑπέρκεινται τῶν Καονάρων*, a name which he gives, but makes some apology for doing so, to the occupiers of the plain of the Rhone from the Durance to the Isère, p. 185, 6— and now, after describing the position of the Vocontii, and saying that the Iconii and Tricorii come after them, and after these the Medulli, he takes the mouth of the Isère as his point of distance, and says that the Medulli *μάλιστα ὑπέρκεινται τῆς συμβολῆς*, &c. This way of noticing them, viz., that they are very far or farthest above the mouth of the Isère, connects them with that river so as to lead us to look for them near to the origin of it ; and when, moreover, he says plainly that they occupy the highest summits, from which the mountain falls on the other side to Italy, we look for parts near the main ridge, such as overlook the higher valleys of the Isère and the Arc ; and this brings us to the region of Mont Iseran, which stands between the two. Thus the Medulli appear in the high chain of Alps next to the Centrones : whether you will suppose them to extend southward to the Cenis, depends upon where you may suppose the Garoceli of Cæsar to begin ; for these seem to claim the next place along the chain, add were probably subject to Cottius. No one can pretend quite to define the territories of these nations : roughly arranging them, we may place in succession along the ridge, Centrones, Medulli, Garoceli ; and, as their borderers to the west, Allobroges, Ucenii

“ tain range here spoken of, that which slopes towards Italy,
 “ dwell the Taurini, a Ligurian nation, and other Ligurians;
 “ and of these is the land called the land of Ideonnus,
 “ and that of Cottius. Beyond these and the Po are
 “ the Salassi;^a and above them in the mountain heights
 “ are the Centrones, and the Caturiges,^a and the Veragri,^b
 “ and the Nantuates,^c and the Lemman lake through which

or Iconii, Tricorii, Caturiges; but leaving it doubtful whether the Garoceli were at any point in contact with the Tricorii, inasmuch as the Caturiges were on the Upper Durance: it cannot indeed be proved that the Garoceli held the M. Genève. D'Anville places the Medulli in the Lower Maurienne (Arc); and in the map of the Oxford Dissertation they seem to claim the valley of Graisivaudan (on the Isère between the Drac and the Arc), or the mountains that overhang that valley: but these do not well represent the *ὑψηλότερας κορυφάς* of Strabo.

^a As Strabo is speaking of peoples and things above the Salassi and beyond them, the Caturiges can have no business here: they were more south.

^b Strabo intends the Veragri as occupiers of the Pænine: Cæsar says that Octodorus (Martigny) belonged to them: de bell. Gall. lib. iii. c. 1. and see Itin. Antonin. the route from Milan to Mayence. Pliny classes them among the incolæ Alpium, and in his enumeration they come between the Lepontii and the Centrones. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. c. 24 (20).

^c See D'Anville, Ancienne Gaule, on the practicability of reconciling the Nantuates of the 3rd book of Cæsar, c. 1, with those of the 4th book, c. 10, 3, and with the Nantuates of Strabo, p. 204, and those of the same book, p. 192. If the word appeared plainly Nantuates in all four places, it would nevertheless be certain that the authors did not in all intend the same people: the Nantuates of Cæsar's 3rd book, and of the passage before us, Strabo, p. 204, seem to occupy the Chablais, the mountainous country towards the lake: but in Cæsar's 4th book he makes the Rhine to rise ex Lepontiis, and then to flow per fines Nantuatum, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricorum, Tribocorum, Trevirorum: either

“ the Rhone is carried, and the fountain of that river.
 “ And not far from these are the sources of the Rhine, and
 “ the mountain Adulas, from which both the Rhine flows
 “ northward, and the Adua in the contrary direction, fall-
 “ ing into the Lake of Como.”

After a few words on the Rhætian Alps (already cited) Strabo proceeds—“ The country of the Salassi is consider-
 “ able, in a deep valley, mountains enclosing the region on
 “ both sides : a part of their possessions reaches up to-
 “ wards the heights that I spoke of. To those who pass
 “ over the mountains from Italy the way is along this
 “ valley: the way is then separated into two; one is car-
 “ ried through the mountain called Pænine, not practica-
 “ ble for carriages, over the summit of the Alps; the other,
 “ more westward, through the Centrones.”

“ The Salassian country possesses gold mines, which the
 “ Salassians formerly held when they were a powerful
 “ people; as also they were masters of the passes. The

the word Nantuatium has unduly crept in, or it was an accidental error of Cæsar's pen, who perhaps meant to write Rhætorum, Helvetiorum, &c. As to the other passage of Strabo, p. 192, on which D'Anville, putting his faith in Casaubon, merely discusses the word Nantuates, the word is in the manuscripts *Ἀντιονάριοι*. Now what does this mean, and how should it be corrected? I learn from a note of Gustavus Kramer that Cluverius had conjectured *Ἐλουήτριοι*, and that Coraes (M. Coray) adopted the suggestion in his edition of Strabo; and Kramer very wisely follows it in his own text. The French translation, however, which is here done by M. Coray, has a note suggesting Lepontii: this was not a bad guess: but Helvetii is a better; for Strabo presently says, “ After the Helvetii, the Sequani and Mediomatrici dwell upon the Rhine.” It is clear to me, that Strabo was here copying Cæsar: he exhibits in the same order with Cæsar, as *κατοικοῦντες τὸν Πῆνον*, the Helvetii, the Sequani, the Mediomatrici, the Tribocci, the Treviri: (see p. 193, 194.) he does well in omitting the Nantuates.

"river Doria mostly promoted their mining, by aiding the
 "washing out of the gold ore: so that, parting off the
 "water to make sluices towards various places, they left
 "the main stream empty. This was convenient to them
 "in their pursuit of gold, but vexatious to the husband-
 "men of the plains below them, who lost the benefit of
 "irrigation; for the river was easily applicable to water
 "the district from the great fall of the stream. From
 "this cause frequent wars arose between the two nations:
 "when the Romans got the mastery, the Salassians were
 "driven both from their gold mines and their country:
 "but, still holding the mountains, they exacted payment
 "for the water from those who farmed the mines under
 "public contract; and were always at variance with them,
 "owing to the greediness of these contractors. Thus it
 "came to pass that the Romans, who from time to time
 "were commissioned to those parts, and who wanted to
 "act the general, soon found excuse on which to make
 "war."

"Down to very recent times the Salassi, sometimes
 "warred upon by the Romans, sometimes let alone, still
 "had a strength, and were very injurious to those who
 "passed over their mountains, according to their habits of
 "plunder: they made Decimus Brutus, in his flight from
 "Modena, pay a drachma^a for every man he had with
 "him: Messala, wintering near them, had to pay down
 "value for his wood, both for firing, and for elm to make
 "javelins and weapons of exercise. These Salassi once
 "plundered Cæsar's baggage; and they sent down frag-
 "ments of precipices upon the legions, pretending to be
 "employed in making roads and bridging rivers. After-
 "wards, however, Augustus utterly reduced them: he had
 "them brought down to Eporedia (Ivrée) and sold as
 "prize property: a colony had been planted at that place

^a Nearly nine-pence-three-farthings.

“with a view to protection against the Salassi: but the
 “people there could do little against them till the nation
 “was exterminated. There were counted, of others 3600,
 “and of fighting men 8000: Terentius Varro sold them
 “all, the general who had subdued them; and Augustus,
 “sending 3000 Romans, founded the city Augusta on the
 “spot where Varro had his camp: the whole neighbour-
 “hood is now peaceable to the very tops of the moun-
 “tains.”^a

Reading this consecutive matter, and seeing the ample and accurate information which Strabo had obtained both on the geography and the history of the Doria and the valley through which it flows, I am at a loss to discover any fair pretence on which he can be thought to intend any river other than the Doire Baltique. The sentence, in which a host of great critics say that he intended the minor Doria, the river of Susa, is the very sentence in which he names the river as running through the Salassi; and, if it had more fairly suggested a doubt, doubt would be removed by his proceeding to give the detailed history of this people, the chief interest of which history is attached to the river: if ever a man knew the meaning of his own words, Strabo knew his Doria and his Salassi: we see the river running from the region of Mont Blanc, having on the left the heights of the Great St. Bernard occupied by the Veragri, on the right the heights of the Little St. Bernard occupied by the Centrones, as clearly as if he had spoken these things in modern French or English: this is the Doria of Strabo, the source of wealth and the provocation to war: from the Dorian valley springs one route to Lyon, carrying you by the Pennine and the Lake of Geneva; another, more westerly, carrying you to the same point through the Tarentaise.

If we were trying to explain a passage which we pre-

^a Lib. iv. p. 203, 4, 5, 6.

sumed free from any gross error, our inquiry might be guided by the great lake which Strabo believed to be near to the three fountains: some imagine a suitable lake in Monte Viso; others in Mont Genève: Mr. Whitaker^a declared this lake to be in the neighbourhood of Sallenche, a place well known to travellers between Geneva and Chamouni: Lord Woodhouselee^b ventured to assign it to the Great St. Bernard: M. Larauza^c more reasonably refers it to the Cenis lake; but he goes too far when assuming, like many others, that Strabo's Doria is the Doire of Susa, he urges that this mention of a lake shews the Cenis to have been a Roman way. It is likely enough that some traveller, who had visited the Cenis, wrote of a great Alpine lake, and that Strabo hence got his idea of a great lake which he has introduced as neighbour to the other impossible neighbours, the fountains of the rivers: but if you can trace a foundation for each item in this great error, the error remains, and the argument on which I rest is not impeached: on the contrary, we see more clearly the value of a point on which he was without error: on such a point I rely, namely, the history and geography of the Doria: here he had safe knowledge, and through it he is to be interpreted. The fountains of the Po, the Doire, and the Durancc, placed near together by Strabo, in fact belong each to very different mountains: and, as he rightly apprehended one of the three, he misplaced the other two.

If we look further to Strabo's account of the Italian plain, we find it confirmed that his early Po must have been far north of the Po now recognised: when he dis-

^a Course of Hannibal over the Alps ascertained, 1794, vol. i. p. 147.

^b In his pamphlet, reviewing Mr. Whitaker, 1795.

^c Histoire Critique du Passage des Alpes par Annibal, 1826, p. 168.

tinguishes the occupiers of the Transpadane and the Cispadane, he alleges the former to be Venetians and Celts, the latter Celts and Ligurians: * if his Po had been the Po of to-day, there would have been Ligurians on the left bank: but he admits none, not even the Taurini. And this is consistent with what he said of the relative position of the Ligurians and the Salassi, namely, that the latter are beyond the Ligurians and beyond the Po—*μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὸν Πάδον Σαλασσοί*: this is equivalent to saying, that the Ligurians are on this side of the Salassi and on this side of the Po: and observe that he has just said, after mentioning the Medulli as on the French side of those Alps, that the Taurini and other Ligurians are found *ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τὰ πρὸς Ἰταλίαν κεκλιμένα τῆς λεχθείσης ὀρεινῆς*. Everything concurs to shew that his Po has come out of the Alps, having Ligurians on the right bank, none on the left bank; in fact separating the Ligurians from the region of the Salassi. I care not to say in terms that he mistook the Orgus for the Po, or that he mistook the Stura for the Po: as he did not himself see these rivers, we cannot propound so precise a fact: it is enough to have shewn that his idea of the Po was that that river separated Gauls and Ligurians, and that he apprehended him to arrive in the plain not far from the supposed companion of his infancy, the Doria.

One difficulty remains: I have said that Strabo's writings do not notice any point of the Po higher up than the influx of the Doria. Now there is a passage which is usually construed as if it did notice the course of the river as far as the site of Turin; and I must advert to it. It occurs when Strabo is describing the way from Ariminum on the Adriatic up the plain to the boundary of the Cisalpine Province: the text, being corrupt, must itself be

* Lib. v. p. 212.

exhibited—ἀπὸ δὲ Πλακεντίας εἰς Ἀρίμινον στάδιοι χίλιοι τριακόσιοι. ὑπὲρ δὲ Πλακεντίας, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Κοττίου γῆς, Τίκινον ἐν τριάκοντα ἑξ μιλίοις πόλιν καὶ ὁμώνυμος ὁ παραρρέων ποταμός συμβάλλων τῷ Πάδῳ, καὶ Κλαστίδιον καὶ Δέρθων καὶ Ἀκουιστατέλλα μικρὸν ἐν παροδῷ. ἡ δ' ἐυθεῖα εἰς Ὠκελον παρὰ τὸν Πάδον τὸν Δουρίαν ποταμόν βαρὰθρῶδης, ἡ πολλή πλείους καὶ ἄλλους ἔχουσα ποταμούς (ὧν καὶ τὸν Δρουντίαν) μιλίων ἐστὶ περὶ ἑξήκοντα. ἐντεύθεν δ' ἤδη τὰ Ἀλπεια ὄρη καὶ ἡ Κελτική.^a

A corrupt passage must be canvassed before it is construed: in this passage, which contains much that is suspicious, there are certainly two obvious blemishes: the want of a word before τὸν Δουρίαν, and the appearance of Druentia on the Italian side of the Alps. Strabo's Druentia is so unequivocally the Durance,^b that we may safely condemn the words in parenthesis, and limit our speculations to the one cause of embarrassment.

The French translators, adopting καὶ between the two rivers, and thus subjecting both to παρὰ, interpret this route as going along the Po and then along the Doria, which they accordingly conceive, as they had conceived the Doria of p. 203, to be the Doire of Susa: they expressly admit that a course along that river cannot bring you to Ocelum, inasmuch as this place belongs to another valley separated by a continuous range of lofty mountains; but they comfort us with the assurance that it will go jusqu' assez près: this is not very satisfactory: however it appears that καὶ is found in two Parisian manuscripts. The next difficulty is in the distance: Strabo speaks of an

^a Lib. v. p. 217.

^b See the passage lately discussed, concerning the source of the Druentia: also the notice of that river near Cavaillon in lib. iv. p. 179.

^c Géog. de Strabon. tom. ii. p. 134, n. 3.

instalment of the journey, which he estimates at about sixty miles beyond the Ticinus: and it seems quite probable that, in a route along the Po, he should, after making a pause in 36 miles, at the Ticinus, make another pause in 60 miles at the Doria: the translators however propose to turn the sixty miles into a hundred and sixty, and so get jusqu' assez près to the end of the journey: for this they have the support of no manuscript. The last difficulty, that of the parenthesis, is met by supposing *Δρουεντίαν* also to represent the Doire of Susa: this is for those who propose it an impossible resource; because *Δρουεντίαν*, being named as one of the "others," cannot be identical with that to which the "others" are contrasted.

Gustavus Kramer, with whom it has evidently been a main object in his laborious researches to obtain a text that shall not defy grammatical construction, is satisfied with *καὶ*; and has thus been led to adopt also the conjecture of the French translators on the distance, and he prints for the first time [*ἐκατὸν*] *ἐξήκοντα*.^a I cannot believe that Strabo wrote either *καὶ* or *ἐκατὸν*: M. Gossellin, differing from his colleagues, refuses to alter the numeral, and considers the Doire Baltique to be the river of the text:^b but he damages the good sense of this opinion, by allowing the *ἄλλους ποταμούς* to be beyond the Doria: all the incidents in this clause of the sentence must surely be within the sixty miles. On the more important point M. Gossellin hit the truth: we have lately seen how clear a thing is the Doria of Strabo: and as a word must be supplied here before *τὸν Δουρίαν*, I do not hesitate to suggest that that word should be *ἐς* or *ἐπὶ*; and that, although Strabo is employed in guiding us to the extremity of the Province at the Cottian boundary, his instructions in detail go

^a He says, p. 342, *ἐκατὸν* addidi ex Du Theilii conjecturâ.

^b See the same note 3, just cited.

no farther than the Doria: as the text stands, he leaves us to get on to the boundary as we can.

The translators on the other hand, and perhaps all other critics, consider that the ideas, contained in the words from *παρὰ τὸν Πάδον* to *ἑξήκοντα*, are predicated of the route all the way to Ocelum: but I beg to call attention to the style of the author. As in this sentence which gives your journey a stretch to the Doria, so in the preceding sentence which gave it a stretch to the Ticinus, he in terms tells you that your route is for Ocelum; or, which is the same thing, to the Roman boundary: Ocelum and the confines of Cottius were to Strabo convertible terms: looking back to page 179, we find Ὡκελον τὸ πέρας τῆς Κοττίου γῆς. Observe then; the prior sentence, which takes you to the Ticinus, begins with ὑπὲρ δὲ Πλακεντίας ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Κοττίου: the next sentence, which takes you to the Doria, begins with ἡ δ' ἐνθεῖα εἰς Ὡκελον: thus in each sentence he tells you what is the scope of your journey; but in neither does he bring you to the end of it: each contains an instalment and only an instalment. I may illustrate my meaning thus: the French translation of ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Κοττίου is "en tirant vers les confins de Cottius:" these same words would, though not literally, yet in spirit and effect, be a just translation of ἡ δ' ἐνθεῖα εἰς Ὡκελον: having stopped to mention three places in the neighbourhood, Strabo resumes his track in the words ἡ δ' ἐνθεῖα. M. Gossellin supposed that he meant to tell of another road to Ocelum going through Tortona and Acqui: this is a mistake: those places are noticed, not as being in one of two ways to the Alps, but as being out of the way: Strabo presently names them as being in the way from Genoa to Placentia.

Now I do not pretend that the purport of these sentences admits of demonstration: they consist of loose memoranda taken perhaps from various sources: this is shewn in the variety of the modes of measurement: in

this same page Strabo reports that from Genoa to Derthona is 400 stades; and the same from Derthona to Placentia: he says that from Placentia to Ravenna, if you descend the Po, it will be a voyage of two days and nights: from Ariminum to Placentia he gives the distance in stades; from Placentia to Ticinum in miles; thence again to the Doria in miles; and thence to the boundary the distance is not, as the text stands, expressed at all. Some commentators have thought that words are lost: and this is not improbable; they must be words concerning the progress above the junction of the Doria: the last instalment of the journey and the length of it are not specified in the text which we read. My conjecture is, that Strabo's researches did not happen to have furnished him with anything specific between the two points Occlum and the mouth of the Doria: thus in the present instance he drops his detail at the Doria, as, when he was entering Italy, he dropped his detail at Occlum.

With this attempt to improve the understanding of a corrupted passage, I will say that I conceive Strabo to have intended to convey in that passage, so far as it remains to us, the following ideas: "between Ariminum and Placentia there are 1300 stadia: above Placentia, as you travel towards the boundary between the Romans and Cottius, you have in 36 miles the town Ticinum and river of the same name falling into the Po; and a little out of the way are Clastidium, Derthona, and Aquæ Statiellæ: going right on for that boundary, you proceed about 60 miles up the Po to the Doria, a road full of hollows and crossed by many other rivers: — — after this it is all Alps and Gaul beyond them." While I think that this passage has never been adequately examined, I can hardly expect that the innovation which I propose will be readily accepted: I rely much on the defined, the unequivocal Doria of Strabo as portrayed by him in the fourth book: let that earlier passage and the passage now before us be

considered together: those who controvert the Doria of this sentence, controvert also the Doria of the former sentence: if I have rightly corrected their scruples as to one, I may be right also upon the other; and in that case my position stands good, that you cannot trace the Po of Strabo higher than the influx of the Doria.

I have no doubt that many, not accepting these constructions of the evidence, will insist that such a man as Strabo must have had what they will deem a true conception of the Po: but such necessity is ill assumed on more grounds than one: even if my notion be incorrect, that he never traced the Ligurian tributaries either under one name or another, where is the necessity that he should have applied names as we do? Is the nomination of rivers exempt from caprice? the nomination of other things is not exempt from caprice: the sea now called the Gulph of Lyon has little connection with the city whose name it bears; and the sea coast between the mouths of the Loire and the Seine has much less connection with it: still, as we have seen, it was embraced in the Lyon province. Is this a subject on which to require consistency? The Po himself is a striking instance to the contrary: one man, and one only, among antient authors, has derived the Po from that source which it is the fashion to acknowledge now: and, while we are driven to argument for shewing that his predecessors in geography may not have indulged the same opinion, we need no argument to prove that his successors did not. Look at the Italian rivers of Ptolemy: his Doria^a runs from the Great St. Bernard due West and East to a point where it is joined by the Po, who has come down from the Lake of Como: I say due West and East; for he assigns the same latitude, (43. 45,) to the *κεφαλὴ τῶν Δωρία ποταμῶν*, and to the *συμβολή*

^a Ptol. Geogr. lib. iii. p. 63. Ptolemy, like Strabo, knew but of one Doria: Pliny alone has recorded a second.

καθ' ἣν ὁ Πάδος συμβάλλει τῷ Δωρίᾳ ποταμῷ. Those who think that the Po must always have risen in Ligurian Alps, may also call to mind the Po of Appian, according to whom Hannibal crossed the Alps "near the sources of the Po and the Rhone, rivers which rise not far from one another."^a

These speculations on the ancient reputation of the Po have arisen in aid of the position that Polybius need not have been informed upon a Taurine pass, and that it is quite consistent with his notices of Italy and with the probabilities that result from the slow advance of Roman power to the Alpine frontier, to suppose that he never explored the higher streams of the great river. Strabo was informed on a Taurine pass: he had read more or less upon a route through it into Gaul and Spain which had been for some time used by Roman generals: nevertheless he had met with nothing that instructed him on the earlier contributors to the Po. The books to which he referred, not always the most modern, might teach places without teaching rivers: even if he had been acquainted with the Itinerary of Augustus, which it is pretty clear he was not, his information on this point might still remain imperfect. In supporting the opinion which I entertain on the value of his statement concerning the four passes, I have relied, as is necessary, on probabilities: and certainly these ought to be well supported, when the result to which they tend involves the discrediting of that statement: at the same time one need not be deterred from advancing such scruples: that he is not infallible, has appeared from his

^a Bell. Civ. lib. 1, p. 209.

appeal to Cæsar's Commentaries, and from his assertion of the three rivers springing from two fountains near to one and the same lake. I will now advert to the opposing probabilities which have been advanced in support of the credit of the sentence.

The opinion of M. Letronne.

I am aware that a very eminent man takes a far different view of the sentence under consideration: M. Letronne considers the words of Strabo to be the words of Polybius; he says "ce passage contient non seulement la pensée de Polybe, mais jusqu'à ses expressions"—"dans tout ce qui précède et ce qui suit, Strabon ne fait que rapporter les opinions et les propres paroles de Polybe:—que Strabon suit sans restriction pour tout ce qui concerne les Alpes:"^a again, "la géographie de cet historien, ou plutôt la partie de son histoire qui traite de la géographie, étoit la source unique où il puisoit ce qu'il rapporte des Alpes:" and further, "l'ouvrage de Polybe son unique guide."^c Now the matters concerning the Alps upon which Strabo refers to Polybius are few and easily told: he refers to him on the fact that the elk is found in the Alps:^d he refers to him on the superiority of the Alps to the mountains of Greece and Thrace: he refers to him in the sentence under discussion about the passes; also on the Alpine lakes,^e naming and describing the large ones and the rivers issuing from them.^f This is

^a Journal des Savans, Décembre 1819, p. 754.

^b Journal des Savans, Janvier 1819, p. 25.

^c Journal des Savans, Décembre 1819, p. 755.

^d Lib. iv. p. 207.

^e Lib. iv. p. 209.

^f Benacus, Lago di Garda. Verbanus, Lago Maggiore. Larius, Lago di Como.

all that can be found of express reference on the Alps: and, as Strabo throughout his work is from time to time citing Polybius as his authority for particular facts, the presumption is that he has not that authority where he does not adduce it: but, if we note also the references to Polybius on points less closely affecting the Alps, or if we search for other things on the Alps that admit of being derived from Polybius, though not so alleged, we find very little; and are the more surprised at M. Lctronne's proposition that one followed the other "pour tout ce qui concerne les Alpes."

We know that Polybius passed through some part of the chain of Alps between the Po and the Rhone: and so far Strabo had, as we also have, the benefit of his instruction: likewise so far as the Alps were connected with Roman events, so far they would be noticed by Polybius: but the scope of these things was very limited: the Romans in his day had just begun to feel their way, peeping out, as it were, at either extremity of the great chain that enclosed them from the rest of Europe; and they had done no more. I believe the only movement against the eastern Alps had been in the unauthorised and fruitless attempt of Cassius Longinus in 171 A.C.^a Strabo does not allude to it; and his appeal to Polybius on the gold mines near Aquileia,^b and the salt springs at Timavum,^c may be thought to shew that Polybius had himself made the land journey between Italy and Greece. At the other extremity of the barrier, the Romans had once moved a little way along the coast in aid of the Massilians against the Oxybii and Deciatæ, Ligurian tribes in the neighbourhood of Frejus: this their very first advance beyond the Alps took place while Polybius was an exile in Italy, and

^a Liv. lib. xliii. 1.

^c Lib. v. p. 215.

^b Lib. iv. p. 208.

is mentioned by him : ^a hence Strabo's reference to him on the existence of these two tribes.^b How small then at that period was the knowledge of Alps arising out of Roman transactions ! If we look to all prior history of the great natural rampart planted between the two extremes just adverted to, the only operations which that history furnished for Polybius to transmit were in the passage of Hercules, the irruptions of the Gauls, and the invasion of Hannibal. On the passage of Hercules, or on Graian Alps, Strabo says nothing : on the Gaulish inroads through the Alps nothing : on Hannibal's pass the three words which have caused discussion ; and never but in those three words does he allude to Polybius as the historian of Hannibal.

Strabo abounds in matter connected with Alps, especially with the outer side of them : but it is not derived from Polybius : the fact of the Rhone having two mouths is almost the only fact in the Transalpine cited on his authority : the Romans in his time knew little of the transalpine region : the agents of their intrigues were hardly as yet moving in the interior of Gaul when he made his journey through the Alps ; and, whatever was their knowledge of that outer country, it must have been acquired through maritime communication with Marseille. It is quite open to speculation whether they had then any acquaintance with the lake of Geneva, further than what was derived from the tales of Gaulish captives or of travellers whom they scrupled to believe : they were still less likely to be informed on the lakes of Constance, Zurich, or Lucerne : whatever they knew, Polybius knew : but was he acquainted with the geography of Switzerland ? When Strabo tells the peculiarities of the great lake of

^a Pol. Hist. lib. xxxiii. c. 8. N. B. Twenty-nine years elapsed before such an effort was repeated.

^b Lib. iv. p. 202.

the Rhone,^a and the nations bordering on the great lake of the Rhine,^b he makes no reference to Polybius: indeed he almost proves that no Swiss lake had been mentioned by him; for he says that Polybius had mentioned many Alpine lakes of which three were large ones;^c and not one of them is on the Helvetian side. Polybius himself bears testimony to the general obscurity of those regions: when he opens his narrative of the march from the Pyrenees, he announces that he shall not attempt to express names belonging to countries so utterly unknown:^d and he keeps his word; for we do not between Spain and Italy read the name of any town, and only of one people visited by the invaders: names begin when mountains end.

Thus trifling in fact is the amount of Strabo's Alpine matter that is or could be drawn from Polybius: the history of conquest brought geography along with it; and Strabo's memoranda on the Alps are drawn from later events: his notices of South-western France are founded on the performances of Fulvius, Sextius, Domitius, Fabius, and Marius: the Romans never even marched to the Rhone in time for Polybius to commemorate it. So also Strabo's details of the passes of the higher Alps are Roman details: before he came to write on the Cottian, the Pennine, and the Rhaetian ways through these mountains, they had been opened by Pompey, Cæsar, Augustus, Tiberius, Drusus. As I have said, he observes little method in treating these subjects; but it will be found that in one or other part of his discussions, he deals historically with the Maritime, the Salassian, and the Rhaetian passes; and that every anecdote which he brings forward concerns some event which had occurred subsequently to the death of Polybius: it is curious that, in his explanation of the Taurine or Cottian pass, being the route in which alone he

^a Lib. iv. p. 186.

^b Lib. iv. p. 192.

^c Lib. iv. p. 209.

^d Pol. Hist. lib. iii. c. 36.

details the names of places with the distances between them, he introduces no anecdote or historical matter whatever.^a

How then can M. Letronne trace Polybius throughout the Alps of Strabo; how imagine that the mass of Strabo's materials was derived from him? It was from reports of Roman intercourse with the Alps that Strabo acquired his knowledge upon them; in the days of Polybius that intercourse had not begun. But, besides all this, it seems to me that, on matters which concern the Alps, Strabo shews no particular inclination to follow Polybius, even where he had him to follow: Polybius represents that the Alps begin near Marseille; ^b Strabo makes them to begin near Genoa: ^c Polybius, placing the early Rhone in the remoter Alps, says that the fountains face westward, and that the course of the river is southwest; ^d Strabo says that the first course of the Rhone is to the North: ^e Polybius, deriving the Po from the Alps, tells you in the same sentence that the Poets call him Eridanus; ^f the *fluviorum rex* has no sanction of Strabo, who denounces Eridanus as the creature of fable, said to be near the Po, but in truth having no existence. ^g Polybius exhibits the Alps as the base of the Italian triangle; ^h this fancy too finds no favour with Strabo, whose affection for parallelograms is well known: in express opposition to Polybius he declares that Italy is a figure of four sides rather than of three. ⁱ

M. Letronne not only considers the Alpine matter of Strabo to be all Polybian, but insists that he expresses it in

^a Lib. iv. p. 178, 179.

^b Pol. Hist. lib. ii. c. 14, 6. Lib. iii. c. 47, 4.

^c Lib. iv. p. 201, 210.

^d Pol. Hist. lib. iii. c. 47.

^e *καταρχὰς πρὸς ἄρκτον*. Lib. iv. p. 186.

^f Pol. Hist. lib. ii. c. 16, 6.

^g Lib. v. p. 215.

^h Pol. Hist. lib. ii. c. 14, 7.

ⁱ *τετράπλευρον μάλλον τὸ σχῆμα*. Lib. v. p. 210.

the very words of Polybius. I have had occasion already to shew that the expression *ὑπέρβασις διὰ Σαλασσῶν* must be regarded as the expression of Strabo, not of Polybius: but further, I suspect that the word *ὑπέρβασις*, which contains the leading idea of the sentence, viewed alone, is the word of Strabo, and was never copied from Polybius. Strabo commonly employs *ὑπερβαίνω* and *ὑπερτίθηναι* to tell the passing over a mountain, and represents the transcendent or pass by *ὑπέρβασις* or *ὑπέρθεσις*:^a we have seen both words in the sentences above quoted concerning his Salassian pass: so elsewhere he applies both terms to the same mountain at the interval of a few sentences—*ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν θάλατταν ὑπέρθεσις—ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν Κασπίαν ὑπέρβασις*.^b Now the words usually employed by Polybius are *ὑπεραίρω* and *ὑπερβάλλω* and *ὑπερβολή*. I am not aware that he ever speaks at the same time of several passes, as we do when we enumerate “the Passes of the Cenis, the Simplon, and the Splügen,” and as Strabo does in using the word *ὑπερθέσεων* and the word *ὑπερβάσεις*: but *ὑπερβολαί* is in frequent use with Polybius, both as expressing mountain heights generally, and as importing a succession of mountain heights, which must be surmounted in order to get from one side of the chain to the other: in this sense he exhibits *αἱ τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερβολαί*,^c as constituting one section of the march from Spain to Italy; and the same meaning is seen when he speaks of Asdrubal’s retreat *ἐπὶ τὰς Πυρρήνης ὑπερβολὰς καὶ τοὺς ταύτῃ κατοικῶντας Γαλάτας*.^d In one instance the singular *ὑπερβολή* seems

^a He also used the word *ὑπερβολαί*, though not, I think, intending in each *ὑπερβολή* a distinct crossing of the Alps.

^b Lib. ii. p. 68 and 71. In one instance *ὑπέρθεσις* seems to mean the summit, or highest swell of a mountain pass. See Strab. lib. iv. p. 179.

^c Pol. Hist. iii. 39, 10.

^d Pol. Hist. x. 39, 8.

to import a pass of Alps in the usual sense ; where Scipio is eager to arrive *πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερβολὴν*^a before Hannibal has come forth : for the act of crossing a chain of mountains the word is always used by Polybius ; as *ποιησάμενος τὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερβολὴν*.^b *ὑπέρβασις* is not to be found in Polybius, unless where it appears once in mistake for *ὑπερβίβασις*, the idea being the conveyance of vessels across an isthmus :^c if the word had been in favour with him, his description of Alps, his notice of Gaulish invasions, and the history of Hannibal gave opportunities for using it : most of the many compounds of *βάσις* are met with in the works of Polybius ; we find *ἔμβασις*, *ἐκβασις*, *σύμβασις*, *ἐπίβασις*, *διάβασις*, *ἀνάβασις*, *κατάβασις* ; never *ὑπέρβασις*.

While the word *ὑπέρβασις*, whether with or without the Salassi, indicates Strabo and not Polybius, we perceive in the idea which brings the sentence into notice, in the three words *ἦν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν*, a style which, though not to be called peculiar, was certainly familiar to Strabo : when he speaks of the marshes and the draining of them, he introduces the idea of Hannibal almost in the same words—*δι' ὧν Ἀννίβας χαλεπῶς διῆλθε, προίων ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίαν* :^d these are the propres paroles of Strabo : again he uses the same short style of reference when, mentioning the lake Trasymenus, he adds *καθ' ἣν αἱ ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐμβολαὶ στρατοπέδοις, αἷς περ καὶ Ἀννίβας ἐχρήσατο*.^e

There is further evidence of authorship : I would call attention not only to words and fragments of a sentence, but to the frame of the sentence : the method of enu-

^a Pol. Hist. iii. 40, 4.

^b Pol. Hist. iii. 56. 3—see also 34, 6. and 47, 6.

^c Pol. Hist. iv. 19, 8.

^d Lib. v. p. 217.

^e Lib. v. p. 226.

merating the four passes is exactly the method in which Strabo has in the preceding page enumerated four roads: *τὴν διὰ τῶν Κεμμένων ὁρῶν μέχρι Σαντόνων καὶ τῆς Ακουιτανίας, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον, καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὠκεανόν, τὴν πρὸς βελλοακῶις καὶ Ἀμβιανοῖς, τετάρτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ναρβωνίτιν καὶ τὴν Μασσαλιωτικὴν παραλίαν.*^a—"that through the Cevennes as far as the Santones and Aquitania; and that to the Rhine; and a third that to the Ocean, being towards the people of Beauvais and Amiens; and the fourth to the Narbonese and the Massilian coast." M. Letronne will allow that this was not matter adopted from Polybius, for the alleged author of these roads is Agrippa.

I was chiefly prompted thus to examine the sentence in question by the broad assertion that it is altogether a quotation by Strabo of the very words of the earlier historian: the result to my mind is that it is altogether an expression by Strabo in his own words of his own confused and erroneous recollections. To most inquirers the sole interest will be in the three words that relate to Hannibal: and here the zeal of theorists is such that I may expect much objection to this comment: novelties are ventured upon that may offend all combatants, whether engaged on behalf of the Graian, the Cottian, the Cenis, or other passes: some may be jealous for the accuracy of Strabo, others for the knowledge of Polybius: my advice is to all, that in making a free examination of the two great historians of the invasion, they should not heed this passing note of Strabo. If all that has been here advanced is unworthy to influence their judgments, they may still remember, that it is both possible and conformable to the history of manuscripts and their casualties, that the three words *ἦν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν* have been shifted by some careless or

^a Lib. iv. p. 208.

officious copier into a wrong place: I do not myself rely at all on that conjecture: but I do acknowledge some ground for belief in another alternative, namely, that in Strabo's own edition those words had no place at all. The manuscript, *Epitome Vaticana* No. 482, has been now for the first time examined by the learned and laborious *Gustavus Kramer*, and in Strabo's report of the four passes those words are not found: *Kramer* examined every word of that manuscript; he ranks it among those *quorum maxima est auctoritas*,^a and pronounces it *quantivis pretii*.^b This, though not conclusive, gives some fresh damage to the three words: a triumph over them will satisfy my friend to whom this comment is addressed: I have thought the sentence to deserve a broader impeachment.

^a *Præfat.* p. lxxxix.

^b *Præfat.* p. xliii.

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A
CRITICISM
OF
MR. ELLIS'S NEW THEORY
CONCERNING THE
ROUTE OF HANNIBAL.

LONDON
Printed by G. BARCLAY, Castle St. Leicester Sq

St. Bernard and return by the Col de la Seigne and the valley of Beaufort. Alas! the result was calamitous. I soon reached my Alps, and made my first descent into Italy; but in a state of serious illness. After a close confinement of nine weeks at Courmayeur, and pressed by the danger of being snowed up there for the winter, I was moved in a sledge down the valley, to seek a more propitious climate. So began and so ended my hopes of contributing by personal investigation to a knowledge of the disputed track.

In my progress to convalescence I found myself without employment: and a resource offered itself in the examination of Mr. Ellis's Theory. I weighed its merits, and sifted it as well as I could under the circumstances. And now, having returned to England, I venture to exhibit the result. I do this, because the matter to be dealt with is for the most part quite new, not because it offers more extravagant ideas than many schemes which have already perplexed the same subject. There is no subject in which false doctrine has been so successful and so enduring. To this day Truth has not gained the station that is due to her. The work of M. De Luc and the Oxford Dissertation are very able and full of merit. But even those are open to some correction and improvement: all is not right; and much of what is right is not adequately enforced. Many combatants too have arisen since those were written: and of these not one is on the side of Truth. I would face them all, if I had time. These pages must have a limited scope. Still there is some usefulness, and some satisfaction, in obstructing error; and not the least, when it comes forth under grave and respectable authority.

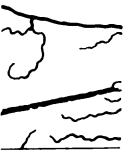
W. J. L.

12th April, 1855.

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A
CRITICISM
OF
MR. ELLIS'S NEW THEORY
CONCERNING THE
ROUTE OF HANNIBAL.

WITH SOME REMARKS ON
THE HYPOTHESIS OF M. REPLAT.

BY
WILLIAM JOHN LAW, A.M.
HER MAJESTY'S CHIEF COMMISSIONER FOR RELIEF OF INSOLVENT DEBTORS,
FORMERLY STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

LONDON:
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1855.

AUTHOR'S APOLOGY.

I HAVE not leisure for dealing at large with the whole question of the Carthaginian march ; and desire only to review the most recent effort that has been made to enlighten us upon it. Some years ago I found opportunities of studying the controversy : but those opportunities ceased, and the hope of vindicating the truth by exposing the casualties which have obscured it, subsided. In the course of last year certain incidents drew me again to the subject. Early in 1854 a new Theory came forth, elaborately worked in the study, and diligently got up in the Alps themselves. It is developed in 'A Treatise by Robert Ellis, B.D. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.' This book constituted my travelling library when I left England at the end of July ; and, in the perusal of it, all the interest of the subject was revived. Soon a fresh provocation arose. Being sent for health to Aix-les-Bains in Savoy, I had in constant view a portion of the true line of march, and longed for a more extended acquaintance with it. Here also I fell in with another new theory, published by a savant of that country, who delivers Hannibal into Italy by the Col de la Seigne. Having amused myself with this during my discipline in August, I printed some comments at Chambéry, and they shall be added to this pamphlet.

With such renewed impulse to a favourite theme, I left Aix on the 17th September, purposing a week's absence from my family, in which I might cross the Little

St. Bernard and return by the Col de la Seigne and the valley of Beaufort. Alas! the result was calamitous. I soon reached my Alps, and made my first descent into Italy; but in a state of serious illness. After a close confinement of nine weeks at Courmayeur, and pressed by the danger of being snowed up there for the winter, I was moved in a sledge down the valley, to seek a more propitious climate. So began and so ended my hopes of contributing by personal investigation to a knowledge of the disputed track.

In my progress to convalescence I found myself without employment: and a resource offered itself in the examination of Mr. Ellis's Theory. I weighed its merits, and sifted it as well as I could under the circumstances. And now, having returned to England, I venture to exhibit the result. I do this, because the matter to be dealt with is for the most part quite new, not because it offers more extravagant ideas than many schemes which have already perplexed the same subject. There is no subject in which false doctrine has been so successful and so enduring. To this day Truth has not gained the station that is due to her. The work of M. De Luc and the Oxford Dissertation are very able and full of merit. But even those are open to some correction and improvement: all is not right; and much of what is right is not adequately enforced. Many combatants too have arisen since those were written: and of these not one is on the side of Truth. I would face them all, if I had time. These pages must have a limited scope. Still there is some usefulness, and some satisfaction, in obstructing error; and not the least, when it comes forth under grave and respectable authority.

W. J. L.

12th April, 1855.

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CORRIGENDA.

- P. 11, line 1—*after* 'not near it,' *insert* 'The narrative had before announced ad planum descensum; with an argument to make that plain Taurinian, and to shew Hannibal as deductus in Taurinos.'
- do. line 4 -- *after* 'reference' *insert* 'The two expressions, gens proxima, and genti proximæ, contain the same geographical idea, being simply this—that, along the Po, the Taurini are next above the Gauls.'

AUTHOR'S APOLOGY.

I HAVE not leisure for dealing at large with the whole question of the Carthaginian march ; and desire only to review the most recent effort that has been made to enlighten us upon it. Some years ago I found opportunities of studying the controversy : but those opportunities ceased, and the hope of vindicating the truth by exposing the casualties which have obscured it, subsided. In the course of last year certain incidents drew me again to the subject. Early in 1854 a new Theory came forth, elaborately worked in the study, and diligently got up in the Alps themselves. It is developed in 'A Treatise by Robert Ellis, B.D. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.' This book constituted my travelling library when I left England at the end of July ; and, in the perusal of it, all the interest of the subject was revived. Soon a fresh provocation arose. Being sent for health to Aix-les-Bains in Savoy, I had in constant view a portion of the true line of march, and longed for a more extended acquaintance with it. Here also I fell in with another new theory, published by a savant of that country, who delivers Hannibal into Italy by the Col de la Seigne. Having amused myself with this during my discipline in August, I printed some comments at Chambéry, and they shall be added to this pamphlet.

With such renewed impulse to a favourite theme, I left Aix on the 17th September, purposing a week's absence from my family, in which I might cross the Little

ranked among the most curious efforts which the spirit of ingenious novelty ever drew from a man of erudition ; and must be carefully examined, in order to be comprehended and estimated. I wish to give the work a full and fair scrutiny, so far as my information enables me to do so, for it has been prepared with a full knowledge of the grounds on which other theories have been made to rest ; and, although it has not been the author's plan to cite, excepting on a very small scale, what the advocates of those theories have advanced, his treatment of the subject shews his acquaintance with their writings, and also discloses the objections which he deems fatal to their arguments : and this is especially the case with regard to the Little St. Bernard. Thus Mr. Ellis is an opponent who, from his coming last into the field, from his deliberate intimacy with the contest, and his special training to it, ought to be resisted if his reasonings are seen to be unsound.

The hypothesis is thus affirmed in the concluding sentence of the treatise,—“ On whatever authority the inquiry into Hannibal's route be based—whether it be grounded upon the narrative of Polybius or of Livy, or upon the knowledge of the ancient roads across the Alps, the conclusion reached is always the same ; and the Little Mont Cenis is pointed out in every case as the pass by which Hannibal effected his descent into the plains of Italy.”

The author declares in the outset, p. iv., “ The great test by which the claims of every pass must be tried is the narrative of Polybius.” He should, therefore, be prepared to abide the comment which he has himself made upon another historian, p. 130, “ Whatever is clearly extravagant must be either rejected or modified ; and whatever contradicts Polybius must be set aside.” If his own work shall be submitted to curtailment upon those principles, the surviving portion will, I apprehend, be of very reduced dimensions.

Arrangement of the Subject in Mr. Ellis's Treatise.

The first chapter introduces the subject of the war and Hannibal's expedition, with a general outline of his route, and states the five divisions of the march exhibited by Polybius; of which the two last, from the crossing of the Rhone to the first Alps, and thence to the plain of the Po, are said to be all with which the treatise is immediately concerned. After some remarks on Polybius's style of narration (the drift of which will appear presently), Mr. Ellis states his intention of giving in translation those two portions of the narrative, and that he shall himself divide them into seven parts, thus:—1. From the passage of the Rhone to the Island. 2. From the Island to a certain town. 3. From the town to a certain white rock. 4. Thence to the summit. 5. Events of the summit. 6. The descent to the commencement of the plains. 7. The march from the foot of the Alps to the country of the Insubrians. He adds, that he shall not give *the whole* of this seventh part.

The second chapter contains Mr. Ellis's translation, a sentence here and there being printed in capital letters. These he denominates Polybius's 'Summaries;' the meaning of which will appear hereafter.

The third, fourth, and fifth chapters contain Mr. Ellis's discussion and general explanation of Polybius's history of the march after the passage of the Rhone. In the progress of this discussion he decides the several questions according to views which accord with his theory. He pronounces in favour of the Isère against the Rhone, as the river along which they marched to the Alps; and brings forward a new and original method of expounding the language of the historian, and thereby overthrowing all preceding theories. This invention has in view one great object; namely, to place the battle with the barbarians, near the white rock, on the fourth,

instead of the eighth, of the fifteen days which Polybius allows to the Alps. This, indeed, is the hinge of Mr. Ellis's experiment, and his contrivances for working it claim much attention. In the three chapters given to this discussion, Mr. Ellis does his best to subvert all the schemes to which he objects, saying little of that which has his favour. As the fruit of the inquiry, he arrives at a deliberate list of 'conditions;' declaring that on the fulfilment of these any identification of the pass must rest.

In the sixth chapter, Mr. Ellis speedily reduces the list of candidates to one; all the rest failing in two or three of his leading conditions. The Cenis is left without a competitor, and he tells you how he means to get to it and over it.

In the seventh and eighth chapters, Mr. Ellis shows in detail how the Little Mont Cenis suits the conditions he has laid down. In the ninth chapter he discusses the narrative of Livy. In the tenth, he notices some objections that have been made to the Mont Cenis. In the eleventh, he endeavours to prove the great antiquity of the route over that pass, but more especially over that of the Little Mont Cenis.

*Mr. Ellis prescribes various essential Points as
characterising the Polybian Narrative.*

I will take Mr. Ellis's matter not quite in the order in which he has brought it forward. He first discusses at length the Polybian narrative; and states, as a result, the conditions of conformity with it, which ought to be satisfied by any track pretending to be that of Hannibal. Presently he dismisses, as nonconformists, all tracks but one. He then shows how that one fulfils every requisite. I think it more convenient that the reader should at once have some idea of the nature of the conditions, and the grounds of condemnation for nonconformity. I will then

exhibit Mr. Ellis's general treatment of the subject, and the grounds which he dwells upon for recommending the Little Mont Cenis to our favour.

The conditions of conformity, with which Mr. Ellis closes his chief inquiry, p. 65 to 67, are of different kinds. Some are in Polybius's own words, and of course must be assented to; as, for instance,—

‘The length of the route over the Alps, beginning at the commencement of the ascent of the mountains, and terminating at the commencement of the plains of Italy, must be about one hundred and fifty Roman miles.’

Others are mere truisms, which might have been multiplied to any amount, such as,—

‘At the commencement of the ascent, a defile must be found, the character of which, and of the surrounding country, is in accordance with the events related by Polybius to have occurred in that place.’

‘The adjacent country must be in accordance with the events which are recorded by Polybius to have taken place in the neighbourhood of this rock.’

‘The country in the vicinity should be of a nature adapted to Polybius's account of the events which took place in the neighbourhood of the broken path.’

‘A place suitable for the encampment of Hannibal's army must be found at the summit of the pass.’

‘The first part of the descent from the summit of the pass on the Italian side must be of a precipitous character.’

There is a third class of conditions said to be ‘*deduced* from Polybius's narrative.’ These need not be tests of conformity with the historian, although they represent the views of his interpreter, Mr. Ellis. Here are some:—

‘ *Above the defile* at the commencement of the ascent, and near it, must be found an open district, where a town either stands or might have stood, and where an army such as Hannibal’s could have encamped.’

‘ At a place *nearly half-way*, in point of time, between the town of the Allobroges and the summit of the pass, a certain ‘strong white rock’ must be found.’!!!

‘ Among the features of the country in the neighbourhood of the rock is a position on the ground *above a range of acclivities overlooking the road* ; where 20,000 men could be stationed, so as to protect the flank of an army marching along the road beneath.’

‘ From a point, probably not far from the road over the summit of the pass, but yet not upon the ground where the Carthaginians would encamp when they first reached the summit, the plains of the Po ought to be visible.’

‘ The commencement of the plains of Italy must be less than three days’ march from the summit of the pass.’

‘ The plains into which the road over the pass enters, when it emerges from the mountains on the side of Italy, must anciently have been inhabited by the Taurini.’

All theories but one are condemned, as inconsistent with Polybius.

The list of indispensable conditions, among which are those just cited, being laid down, some Polybian, some greatly the reverse, Mr. Ellis is not slow in passing judgment on the tracks which he does not patronise, and reducing the list of candidates to one. He says, p. 68, “ Four passes only seem to have, even at first sight, any

“ considerable probability in their favour : the Great and
 “ the Little St. Bernard, the Mont Cenis, and the Mont
 “ Genève. In the endeavour to identify the pass which
 “ Hannibal crossed, the first question to be asked is, What
 “ are its distinguishing characteristics? Are there any
 “ circumstances connected with it of an extraordinary
 “ nature, such as are rarely to be found on any of the
 “ passes of the Alps; and such as, if not found on any
 “ particular pass, raise great difficulties, if not impossi-
 “ bilities, against the adoption of that pass? Now, there
 “ are two circumstances of this kind, which have been
 “ deduced from Polybius’s narrative, and are embodied in
 “ conditions vi. and vii. That Italy should have been
 “ visible from the summit of the pass; and that the com-
 “ mencement of the plains of the Po should lie within less
 “ than three days’ march from the summit,—these are the
 “ prominent and distinguishing characteristics of the pass
 “ which Hannibal crossed.”

Three of the four passes, the only four allowed to be
primâ facie respectable, are promptly convicted of non-
 conformity with the first of Mr. Ellis’s deductions. He
 says, p. 69, “ Of the four passes named, it is only from
 “ one, the Mont Cenis, that Italy can be discovered. From
 “ the Mont Cenis alone could Hannibal have pointed out
 “ to his soldiers the plains of the Po.” Now it is my
 opinion, but I will not wait to work out a proof of its
 accuracy, that *Ἐνάργεια* signifies ‘ Evidence,’ not ‘ View :’
 a correction which was properly made by my friend Mr.
 Long, in his ‘ March of Hannibal.’ I wish there were
 more points of agreement between us. Mr. Ellis himself
 has stumbled upon accuracy, when he translates the word
 ‘ manifestation.’ There is nothing in Polybius which
 requires us to conceive that there was ocular perception
 of the plain of the Po. Those who doubt this, can at
 their leisure explore the subject with the necessary aids.

The same three passes are found to offend against
 Mr. Ellis’s other important deduction, ‘ the commence-

ment of the plains was less than three days' march from the summit.' He gives four pages, 69-72, of calculation to make out that the army could only march thirteen miles a-day between the summit of the pass and the commencement of the plains; and that from the centre of the lake on Mont Cenis to the plain is thirty-nine miles. Accordingly he says, "The Mont Cenis seems to be plainly indicated as the pass which Hannibal crossed. "With respect to either of the St. Bernards, the discrepancy in point of distance raises, not merely a difficulty, but, it may be said, an impossibility to overcome." This notion of 'less than three days' is a great error. It rests on the words, *τρίτατος ἀπὸ τῶν προειρημένων κρημνῶν διανύσας, ἤψατο τῶν ἐπιπέδων*. This is assumed to mean, that the army, the whole army, marched from summit to plain within three days. It means no such thing. Hannibal touched the plain on the third day of his moving from the *κρημνοὶ* with those who had stayed back with him to get the elephants through. The chief part of the army had gone forward down the valley the day before he so moved: and, no doubt, had done so at a much earlier hour than that on which the elephants proceeded the next day. Moreover, the whole armament left the summit the day before any part of them actually went down from the broken path. The whole of this subject would require a long explanation. The Oxford dissertation gives a very mistaken account of the subject, throwing aside much that is reasonable in De Luc. The authors forgot this sound principle,—that you ought, if you fairly can, to lean to a construction which makes an author consistent with himself. The work of reparation was begun on the first day, the day of leaving the summit, and the path was made fit for horses and men; accordingly a large force moved onwards the very next morning. The elephants were with difficulty got through on the third day, and that day must have been much advanced when they were put in motion: this day, how-

ever, was the first of three which are comprehended in *τριταῖος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν*. Moreover, it is highly improbable that this third day saw the entire column of march clear of the mountains. 'Hannibal touched the plain' is not equivalent to 'the whole armament was disgorged into the plain.' Here, again, I recommend a better study of the meaning of words; especially to Mr. Ellis, whose deduction is, that the army marched into the plain in less than three days from the summit! He contradicts himself as well as the author; for he allows that the march proceeded from the summit on the eleventh day, and reached the plain on the fifteenth. Here are five days of movement. No perverseness can, on the words quoted, suggest three, unless by construing *κρημνῶν* the summit; nor can you give less than five without requiring the author to contradict himself. Certainly Mr. Ellis has not been happy in selecting, out of his conditions, the two 'prominent and distinguishing characteristics,' through which he has so speedily disposed of all adversaries. The two facts, that the army saw the plain of the Po, and marched down from the summit within three days, are assumptions of Mr. Ellis, as they have been of others. They are not prescriptions of Polybius.

Having thus annihilated all rivals, Mr. Ellis aims an additional blow at two of them. He says, p. 72, "A third objection arises from the circumstance, that it was not the Taurini, but the Libui, who would have inhabited the plains into which Hannibal entered on his emergence from the Alps, had he crossed either the Great or the Little St. Bernard. Yet the Libui, although a tribe known to Polybius, are never mentioned by him in his account of Hannibal's passage of the Alps, the narrative necessarily implying, that the Carthaginians found the Taurini in their way as soon as they issued out from among the mountains, and began their march to the Insubrian territory." The first proposition in this paragraph is a feeble observation borrowed from Livy. But he applied

it very differently. He was not employed, as Mr. Ellis professes to be, in interpreting Polybius. Livy takes it for granted that Hannibal came from the Alps immediately into the Taurini; his argument being drawn from the Taurine hostilities. From the unquestioned fact of Taurine hostilities, he infers, as necessary, an entrance through Taurine Alps. Nothing can be more absurd. But such is his argument: and he points it by saying that, if Hannibal had arrived by those other Alps, he would have come, not into the Taurini, but through the Salassi into the Libui. If he had said, 'through the Salassi into the Insubres,' the argument would have been the same. He was not controverting the position of the Insubres, like Mr. Ellis: nor does he negative them by naming Libui Galli in contrast with Taurini Ligures. If he had written two or three hundred years later, he would perhaps have expressed himself in the same way: but we are not to infer from his words, that the obscure tribe, Libui, held the territory in question, so that Hannibal's friends, the Insubres, could not be masters of it. We allow that, on the original irruption of Gauls into Italy, B.C. 400, a tribe called Libui squatted in the Dorian plain: nothing beyond that one fact is known of them from any ancient writings. Whether they ever existed as an independent people of Italy, nobody knows. If they did, how long did it last? There is no record of it. Their name may have continued to mark, as it were, a parish, or union, or rape, or wapontake, without their being sovereigns of the soil, if ever they were so at all. When they made one lot among the crowd of invaders, for which Polybius is the sole authority, we hear of other nations also: and of the Insubres we read, *ὁ μέγιστον ἔθνος ἦν αὐτῶν*. Livy himself recognises these, in my opinion, as sovereigns of the very country which I claim for them. "Taurinis, proximæ genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat." I know it is said that 'proximæ' means nearest to Hannibal. Livy could not so intend it. He had already brought Han-

nibal into the Taurini. He was already *among* that people: therefore not *near* it. Insubres, too, is the only word in the whole sentence to which 'proximæ' can have reference. And let it not be said that it would be inconsistent, for Livy in one place to speak of the Libui, and in another of the Insubres, as occupying the same district or portion of the plain. In one passage, he speaks of a nation at war with another nation: in the other he wishes to indicate a particular spot in the great northern plain framed by the Alps, the Apennine, and the Adriatic: that spot was the embouchure of the Valley of Aosta.

Mr. Ellis's observation, that "the Libui are never mentioned in Polybius's account of Hannibal's passage of the Alps" is of no weight. Livy would not have made such an observation. Why should Polybius name them? He avoids names, and gives a good reason for doing so. From the Pyrenees to the plain of Italy he names only one people: this is the Allobroges, a nation of some celebrity, and probably known to his Greek readers. The next whom he names, are the friendly Insubres, among whom Hannibal arrived in the plain: a nation politically powerful, and actively stirring against Rome. Mr. Ellis adds to his comment on the Libui, the bold assertion, that "the narrative necessarily implies, that the Carthaginians found the Taurini in their way as soon as they issued out from among the mountains, and began their march to the Insubrian territory." I stand upon the words of the historian; and maintain that his narrative in no way states nor implies, that the Carthaginians found the Taurini in their way on issuing from the mountains. It states the contrary: namely, that having completed the passage of the Alps, Hannibal came down into (κατῆρε εἰς) the plain of the Po, and the nation of the Insubres: that he then encamped under the mountain side,* and gave his attention to recruiting the health and efficiency of his troops;

* μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰσβολὴν, καταστρατοεδεύσας, &c., c. 60.

that when this object had been established,* he invited the alliance of the Taurini, who were at war with his friends the Insubres; and, on their rejecting it, visited them with destruction. Mr. Ellis, like Dr. Ukert, is ready enough to patronise the result of M. Larauza's blunders on the word *κατῆρε*: but either of them would be shy of subscribing to the reasons on which that writer makes his conclusion.

Such are the objections, grown from two into three, which Mr. Ellis, p. 73, pronounces 'fatal to the Great and Little St. Bernard.' He says, "The Mont Cenis remains alone with likelihood in its favour. The next thing, therefore, to examine is, whether the characteristics of this pass are completely in accordance with the conditions *derived* from the narrative of Polybius. We shall, consequently, now proceed to apply systematically to the Mont Cenis all the conditions which have been *deduced* from the discussion of Polybius's account."

* Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, τῶν Ταυρινῶν, &c., c. 60.

MR. ELLIS'S EXPLANATION OF THE POLYBIAN NARRATIVE.

The discussion on the march from the passage of the Rhone is introduced with some remarks on the distances by which the place of passage has been fixed. Mr. Ellis concurs in the reasons given by M. De Luc, fixing it at or near Roquemaure. And here, in a note which refers to another modern hypothesis, Mr. Ellis takes occasion to introduce matter which it seems right to notice. He says, p. 18, "Ukert conjectures that Hannibal crossed the river in the neighbourhood of Beaucaire: a supposition which is also adopted in a very able article in the Philological Museum on Hannibal's passage of the Alps. On many material points, however, as will be afterwards found, the views advocated in this treatise receive the sanction of the learned writer of the article alluded to."

Here are two propositions: and I do not hesitate to say, that both are erroneous. The learned writer spoken of is Dr. Thirlwall, bishop of St. David's. He does not adopt the supposition of the crossing near Beaucaire: and he does not sanction any of the views advocated in Mr. Ellis's treatise. Mr. Ellis has supposed the reviewer to be delivering his own sentiments, when he is reporting those of Dr. Ukert. There may be some little excuse for such a mistake: for the review is not so carefully worded as it might have been; and the few comments of his own, which the reviewer expresses, might have been more pointedly distinct from the observations of the author he is reviewing. Still the difference should be apparent to one who reads with good attention. The very learned writer, while he speaks with great respect of Dr. Ukert, who is the author of a geographical work of much re-

search, neither sanctions nor condemns his views on the track of Hannibal. He gives rapidly a minute of his peculiar doctrines, representing most of them very accurately. Some he calls in question : some he lets alone : the only word throughout, which could well tempt Mr. Ellis to impute to Dr. Thirlwall a sanction of Ukert's views, is that, in stating one of that author's remarks, he calls it 'sagacious.' This does not mean that it is conclusive ; and unfortunately it is a remark, on which any compliment was peculiarly ill bestowed. One who reads the article in the *Phil. Museum* (vol. ii. 672), will see, that it is expressly declared not to be a review of the whole controversy, but to confine itself 'to a brief notice of two hypotheses ;' those of Arneth and Ukert. It is said some time afterwards, "Our object is not to describe the march, but to explain the nature of the arguments by which Ukert supports his hypothesis." If Dr. Thirlwall had had leisure and inclination to probe the question and argue it himself, we should probably not be arguing it now.

I come now to that discussion of the history and its details by Mr. Ellis, which leads to the laying down of his 'conditions.' The distinctive feature of his theory is, that he fixes the battle near the *λευκόπετρον* on the fourth day of the fifteen which Polybius assigns to the Alps : and it rests on a certain discovery which he professes to have made concerning the style and language of the historian, and through which he makes constructions of the narrative, such as no man ever thought of before. I shall in due time examine the value of these constructions. If they shall be found erroneous, and Mr. Ellis's doctrine of Polybian 'Summaries' to be a vain invention, it matters not whether his marches, battles, rocks, and heights, shall conform to his conditions and characteristics or not. The test of truth must be conformity with what Polybius has written, not with what Mr. Ellis deduces from his writings.

The River, and ten days' progress along it.

It is well known, that a main question in this controversy, whether the march crossed the Island, or retired from it over the Isère, turns on the identifying of "the river" of the 50th chapter; the river, along which Hannibal in ten days reached his first Alps. With that question are linked the consideration of the Island itself, and of the Allobroges. In these topics chiefly heretofore have been the roots of all heresies on our subject. I will point out how Mr. Ellis deals with them before we examine his grand innovation: and, when that shall have been surveyed, remarks will be made on the particular incidents, in which he displays the conformity of his own theory.

The temptation to march up the Isère, instead of the Rhone, seeing how many names are subscribed to that scheme, was too great for Mr. Ellis to resist. As we shall see, it suited his theory to disclaim so long a march as 800 stadia up the river, which is told by the history. He could not do this with the Rhone: so, as to that river, he joins in the prevailing cry, that 800 is not enough: he adopts the narrow, un-Polybian interpretation of the word *παρὰ*, and accepts 'the river side,' and 'along the very banks,' as the construing of *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*. But he may be congratulated on his discretion in avoiding M. Letronne's *last-named* river: he is exempt from that popular absurdity.

Mr. Ellis, however, does not disclaim the Rhone in ignorance or carelessness, as some may have done. He is well qualified to be a correct expounder of the text. He is far too intelligent, not to know that the whole context compels him to understand the Rhone as the river of the 50th chapter. Moreover, he knows from the 39th chapter, that Polybius intended the Rhone and not the

Isère.* He fairly admits that such is the meaning of the author; while he discloses that it is necessary to his own purpose to assume a different meaning. He says, p. 22, "From that account it is certainly most natural to conclude, that it was the same river which was followed up all the way to the beginning of the Alpine ascent; and not in the first part of the march the Rhone, and in the second the Isère." While he thus distinctly acknowledges his understanding of the author's words, he nevertheless avows that he prefers his own inferences of something which on other grounds he deems probable. He dwells on certain hackneyed arguments† for some pages, and then repeats his confession, that "the most obvious interpretation of *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*, in chap. 39, "would lead us to think that Haunibal followed up the Rhone from the place where he crossed that river, up

* Dr. Arnold also knew this from Polybius, and by no other means; and might as well have acknowledged his authority.

† For instance, 'The Island is considerably less in size than the Egyptian district, and does not entirely resemble a delta in form: in order that this comparison might hold, the course of the Rhone ought to be straight. The only way of accounting for this defective description of the Island seems to be by supposing Polybius not to have been personally acquainted with the northern parts of that district.' 'The passage of the Isère is not mentioned by Polybius.' 'The Isère could not be passed by wading.' 'The distance to St. Genix reckoned along the Rhone is 130 miles.' 'The very cursory manner (*ὅρη δυσπρόσοδα*, &c.) in which Polybius speaks of the Char treuse mountains in his description of the Island, not applying the name of Alps.' 'It is impossible to conceive that Hannibal's escort should have conducted him to St. Genix along the very bank of the Rhone.' 'If a general wished to reach Montmélian, it would be very much shorter to follow up the Isère along the north bank: the line is not only shorter, but easier.'—Ch. iii. pp. 19–27.

“to the first ascent of the Alps.” Then follows a gratuitous recantation of the common sense just uttered—“yet the Isère must nevertheless be taken as the river which led Hannibal to the Alps after the transactions in the Island: and we must suppose that he followed up the Rhone no further than to the point where the Isère joins it.” Mr. Ellis’s allegiance to Polybius is already melted into this—“Video meliora, proboque: Deteriora sequor.”

The Allobroges.

As to the Allobroges, Mr. Ellis takes for granted that Polybius did not consider them to occupy the Island, and he does not think it necessary to touch this question in his text throughout the explanation of the narrative. He only remarks in a note, that in Hannibal’s time the Island did not form part of their country, though it did afterwards: and he refers for this to the Philological Museum, which gives no opinion on the subject. That work is only reporting the doctrines of Dr. Ukert, who has here produced some very queer notions; among other things, adopting the common error, about Polybius distinguishing the Allobroges from the inhabitants of the Island, whom he names as ‘barbarians.’ Barbarian means no more than ‘native;’ and is used in contrast to Roman or Carthaginian. The friendly ally is called barbarian, and the hostile Allobroges are called barbarian: the supposed contrast between Barbarians and Allobroges is about as reasonable as a contrast would be between *θηρία* and *ἐλέφαντες* in a preceding sentence. These mistakes of the author reviewed should not be put upon the reviewer: you might as well charge Dr. Thirlwall with Dr. Ukert’s unhappy reference to Apollodorus, which is mentioned in the next following sentence.

Mr. Ellis now leaves the Rhone, and begins the controverted track by proceeding up the left, or southern,

bank of the Isère; a course, to the defence of which no small difficulties belong: but, like those whom he follows, he is as cautiously silent upon them as they are.* I expected that, as he finds no Allobroges in the Island, he would be among them as soon as he got out of it: for they seem to have hovered about the march during the progress to the Alps, although not venturing to attack. We know that the grateful prince attended the Carthaginians to aid them on their march through the Allobroges; and that, when they got to the beginning of the Alps, he took leave of them and came home again; and that all those leaders of Allobroges, so long as they were in the level country, had abstained from attack in fear of the Carthaginian cavalry and the auxiliary force. Does Mr. Ellis conceive that this auxiliary force marched to the Isère, crossed it, made their way through the impracticable mountains which bordered its shore to Grenoble, then crossed the Drac where obstruction, if it was an enemy's country, must have awaited them: and all this, only that they might be ready to help Hannibal, in case of his being molested by Allobroges during the few miles onward which he would have to perform in the plain of Graisivaudan, before he reached Mr. Ellis's first Alps near Le Cheylas?

Such supposition is very unreasonable. And yet Mr. Ellis is silent on all the embarrassing portion of such a march; wishing us, as M. Letronne did, to imagine ourselves *ἐν ἐπιπέδοις* all the way; and never treating us to his Allobroges till he has got into a real plain beyond the Drac. He first brings them on the stage, when he is leaving Le Cheylas, and introducing us to his defile and his town. "Allevard," he says, p. 95, "would either be the chief town of the Allobroges, then perhaps a

* Always excepting the candid M. Lavalette. *Recherches sur l'histoire du Passage d'Annibal*, par M. Baudé de Lavalette. Montpellier, 1833.

“ smaller tribe than that which afterwards bore this name, or else the chief town of one of the districts into which their country was divided, the capital of one of the smaller tribes which together composed the whole people.” As the Allobrogian force was deemed an object of terror before the march was renewed, so as to call forth the chief benefit (τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, &c.), which the ally conferred on the Carthaginians, namely, the attendance upon them as far as the Alps, one may ask, What was that enemy doing when Hannibal was entangled in the mountains, with his cavalry of little service, in the way up the left bank of the Isère; and what were they doing, when the army had to cross the Drac? Mr. Ellis does not recognise their existence till after he has crossed the Drac. He makes their abstinence (ἀπέχοντο) to begin in the vale of Graisivaudan. He says, p. 97, “ When Hannibal *first* entered, or approached, the country of the Allobroges, they were afraid of attacking him, partly on account of his cavalry, and partly on account of the escort of the men of the Island,* who guarded the rear of the Carthaginians. Now, the vale of Graisivaudan, from Grenoble to Le Cheylas, being perfectly level, is quite adapted throughout to the action of cavalry, so that the Allobroges would never venture to descend from the hills, and fall upon Hannibal’s line of march.” Mr. Ellis’s fight with the Allobroges is exhibited about halfway between Isère and St. Pierre d’Allevard, a country of which I know nothing and can say nothing. He proceeds afterwards by Allevard and La Rochette to La Croix d’Aiguebelle on the Arc; suggesting, in a note, that Allevard is a corruption of Allobriga.

The Fifteen Days’ March through the Alps.

As before, in the march up the river, so now in the march through the Alps, we find Mr. Ellis in open

* Polybius uses no such term as ‘men of the Island.’

variance from the historian whom he pretends implicitly to follow: a confessed understanding of the author is coupled with an avowed disregard of his words. Polybius says, that Hannibal, having marched along the river for 800 stadia in ten days, began the ascent of the Alps: he says also, that fifteen days were employed in the passage of the Alps. Mr. Ellis says, p. 32, "the march of ten days ought to terminate where the march of fifteen days begins." But he says it "must be taken as terminating, not where Hannibal left the Isère, but at the town of the Allobroges, which he captured after passing through the defile at the commencement of the Alpine ascent. For from this town the subsequent march of fifteen days is *clearly* reckoned." It is indeed so reckoned by Mr. Ellis. And on what ground? By exhibiting Polybius to that effect? No: but by positively contradicting him. Here is his excuse, p. 33—"The distance of 100 Roman miles (800 stadia) along the river is hardly of sufficient length to have occupied the Carthaginians ten days in marching: for even in the Alps their rate of advance was greater than this." Thus is Polybius's narrative set aside. Mr. Ellis substitutes his own thus:—"It would be on the evening of the eighth day after leaving the confluence of the Rhone and Isère, that Hannibal encamped before the heights occupied by the Allobroges: on the same night he seized the abandoned heights: on the ninth the defile was passed, and the town captured: and on the tenth day the Carthaginians remained encamped in the neighbourhood of the town." Nowhere is there a more decided discordance between the authors Livy and Polybius, than here between the authors Ellis and Polybius.

In the words which follow it is confessed and vindicated. "Polybius, indeed, estimates the length, in distance, of the passage of the Alps, from the point where Hannibal left the Isère; so that it might be natural to expect that the fifteen days occupied in that passage

“ would be reckoned from the same point.” Natural indeed ; and most necessary — but not natural enough for Mr. Ellis’s hypothesis. He finds something still more natural, and proceeds thus :—“ But from the rest of the “ narrative it seems *plain* that the fifteen days’ march is “ reckoned from the town, the capture of which makes a “ *natural break* in the history.” Now the break is, where a given period of ten days ends, and a given period of fifteen days begins. Mr. Ellis may possibly think that, in dividing the whole march from Spain to Italy into sections, it is less natural to make a break at a point where the course of a river has brought the march to the first Alps, than at an unnamed town where the army halts for a day. Polybius makes his break at one ; Mr. Ellis makes his break at the other, by taking his own original view of what is natural. Not beginning his Alpine march of fifteen days till he leaves the town, his sense of the natural excludes from that march the following incidents and operations : Hannibal’s commencing the ἀναβολή πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς, which Mr. Ellis properly translates ‘ Alpine ascent ’—the parts through which ἔδει κατ’ ἀνάγκην ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἀναβολήν—the ὑπερβολαί seized in the night—the στενά—the defiling out of the δυσχωραί—the shocks which sent men and horses down the precipices—Hannibal’s charge ἐξ ὑπερδεξιῶν—the pushing forward to the enemy’s town when the army had been got through μόλις καὶ ταλαιπώρως—in short, the whole work of fighting through the Alps on the day after they left the river, and the next day’s rest at the captured town on the other side. The exclusion of these things from the Alpine period, and the allotment of them to the ten days of river, are results of Mr. Ellis’s *natural break*. I can hardly think that he would ever have found out that his break was the more natural of the two, if it had not been convenient for aiding his new theory. His break occurring two days later than the break of Poly-

buis, he drops out of the reckoning those two first days which belong to the fifteen of Alps.

I really do not perceive what semblance of an excuse Mr. Ellis can propose to himself for treating the day of leaving the town as the first day of Alps. Can he find it in the word *τετραταῖος*, which he knows to mean 'the fourth day from the town,' and not the fourth day of Alps? He treats it, indeed, as meaning also the fourth day of Alps; but must be aware that it can only mean the fourth day of the renewed march. If, however, that word comforted his conscience as a critic, he might have spoken out, and offered the argument to his readers. He talks here of the ten days, and of the fifteen; but not a word of the four. Mr. Ellis understands these things well. He knows that, in the historical account of the fifteen days, the word *ἐνναταῖος*, being used without qualification, imports the ninth of those days: but that a special context may require a reckoning from some other point of time; and that here the context requires *τετραταῖος* to date from the town, as plainly as if the words *ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως* had followed it. But two days of Alps had been fully occupied and accomplished before those four days began; and Hannibal, with a select body, had invaded the Alps in the night before those two days began. The two days were employed wholly in the Alps: one in forcing the passage and bringing the whole armament through, and one in halting at the town beyond. These cannot be part of the days along the river, and must, as obviously, be part of those devoted to the Alps.

Is there anything else that induced Mr. Ellis to represent that the fifteen days are reckoned from the town? He encourages his readers to believe it, by asserting that *the rest of the narrative* shews it to be so. Is this true? Is there any legitimate ground for the assertion? If there is, why has he not pointed it out? The context of the history, rationally explained, would

be worth more than the dicta of the critic. I deny that there is any such supporting context. Mr. Ellis has made no attempt to prove his assertion, by shewing that the rest of the narrative confirms his reckoning. All such attempt is avoided: and, instead of it, we have these ideas to enlighten us—1. The reckoning is *clearly* from the town. 2. It is more *natural*. 3. It seems *plain*. 4. It is a matter of no importance. The last idea is insinuated thus,—“This town was also, no doubt, very “near the Isère, and thus only a short distance removed “from the point where the march along the river terminated.” Did Mr. Ellis succeed in deceiving himself by this resource of ‘only a short distance’? The mountain was stormed and taken: what matters the distance? The excuse does not even fit his own theory; for in his 6th chapter he makes it about ten miles:* no trifling scope, when involving a course of bloody encounters, and not so very short, even for a canter over Newmarket. But if it were less than half that distance, think of putting forth the smallness of space, to vindicate an arbitrary alteration of time, an absolute sinking of two days from the period to which they belong!

Explanation of the narrative continued. The author's great discovery begins to shew itself.

That second instance of building argument upon facts assumed in opposition to the history, with an admission that they are so opposed to it, is specially connected with the falsification of the dates of Polybius, on which this new theory is built. And this brings us to the leading innovation, which distinguishes the hypothesis of the Petit Mont Cenis:—namely, that a white rock, which Mr. Ellis has noticed in the valley of the Arc, the Rock of Baune, shall be the λευκόπετρον of Polybius. This rock

* p. 69, miles 150 — 140 = 10.

is below St. Michel, very far short of the foot of the mountain ; and of course could not belong to a scene of action where Hannibal defeated the barbarians on the day before that on which he reached the summit. And yet it has hitherto been generally understood, that the *λευκόπετρον* did belong to such a scene of action, and was at the foot of the main mountain pass. Mr. Ellis undertakes to shew, that the battle did not take place at the time hitherto supposed. He offers the notion, that it took place on the fourth day of Alps, not the eighth.

All are agreed that the days of Alps were fifteen. All are agreed that the summit was reached on the ninth of those days. On which day then did the Barbarians make their attack ? Mr. Ellis strikes out, on one pretence or another, four of the days which preceded the attack, and just leaves them to introduce themselves between his fourth day, and the ninth on which the summit was gained. He brings all this confusion into the subject without any rational excuse. Two days are got rid of by one sort of misconstruction : two more by another.

As to the first two days expunged by Mr. Ellis, and which were spent in fighting and halting, enough has been said : they are dropped out of their place as the two first of Alpine days, and left to come in after the barbarian conflict, where there is no room for them. The open perversion of the word *τετραπταῖος*, by which two more days are cut out, is in misrepresenting the events of the history which took place on the day which that word intends. Mr. Ellis, besides perverting this into the fourth day of Alps, makes it the very day of the battle with the barbarians near the white rock. He treats the allegation, that the natives accompanied the march for two days as having been hitherto misunderstood : he would have those two days to come before the fourth day, *τετραπταῖος* ; and that the natives had accompanied the army on the second and third days of the renewed

march, though the history predicates of these days no events at all.

In order to see the value of this interpretation, we must view the text onward as given by Mr. Ellis:—from his ‘summary’ in which *τετραπῆρας* occurs, to the close of the account which he considers to be summed up in it; that is, to the conclusion of the battle. At the same time, we must bear in mind the prior events which had followed the march along the river: the departure of the allies, the designs of the Allobroges, Hannibal’s stratagem on the night preceding the conflict, the movement of the army in the morning through the narrow pass of the mountain, the severe but successful combat, and the occupation of the enemy’s town. It was after detailing those things, that Polybius proceeded thus—I give Mr. Ellis’s own translation, not always a strict one.

‘ Having then encamped there and remained one day, he proceeded onwards. DURING THE DAYS IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING HE LED ON THE ARMY SAFELY FOR SOME DISTANCE: BUT ON THE FOURTH DAY HE AGAIN HAD TO ENCOUNTER* GREAT DANGERS. For the people who lived along his route, having formed a treacherous design against him, went out to meet him with crowns and branches of trees:—now these among Barbarians are considered almost universally as tokens of amicable intentions, as is the case with the herald’s wand among the Greeks. But Hannibal, cautious of giving too easy credence to them, made careful inquiry into their aims and intentions. They alleged their perfect knowledge of the capture of the town, and the destruction of the people who had attempted to injure Hannibal; and affirmed that those events had induced them to seek that interview, as they were anxious to prevent the occurrence of mutual hostilities. They also promised to

* *had to encounter.* This is making the most of *παρεγένετο εἰς*.

give some of their own people as hostages to the Carthaginians. Hannibal continued for a long time on his guard against them, and distrusted their representations: but when he considered, that if he were to accept their overtures, he would, in all probability, render them more cautious and well-disposed; whereas, if he rejected them, he would certainly incur their open hostility;—(for these reasons) he assented to their proposals, and affected to engage in alliance with them. The Barbarians gave the hostages they had promised, supplied the troops with cattle in great abundance, and so unreservedly placed themselves in the hands of the Carthaginians, that the latter trusted to them as guides through the difficult places they next encountered. When these Barbarians had led the way in the van for two days, the tribes before mentioned having collected their forces and followed on the rear of the Carthaginians, attacked them as they were passing through a difficult and precipitous ravine. All would again have been lost, had it not been that Hannibal, still to a certain extent distrusting the Barbarians, and providing against the issue, had placed his baggage-animals and cavalry in the van, and his heavy infantry in the rear. The protection which these afforded mitigated the calamity, for the heavy infantry succeeded in withstanding the attacks of the Barbarians. Notwithstanding this circumstance however, a considerable number of men, baggage-animals and horses were destroyed. For the Barbarians, being in possession of the heights, and marching along the mountain-sides in a parallel line to the Carthaginian columns, kept rolling down rocks from above upon part of the army, and wounded others from a nearer distance by hurling stones at them. So utter was the consternation, and so great the danger occasioned by this attack, that

Hannibal was obliged to pass the night with half his army near a certain strong white rock, away from the cavalry and baggage-animals, thereby affording protection to the latter, until they had with difficulty defiled through the ravine, an operation which occupied the whole night.'

It has hitherto been supposed that Polybius attributes no special incidents to the three first days of this renewed march from the town, as he only says, that Hannibal proceeded ἀσφαλῶς, 'without danger.' When it is said, that on the fourth day he came upon great dangers, it is told how the natives, plotting against him, came forth to meet him with the semblance of friendship: and the matters of their conference, with Hannibal's misgivings, the delivery of hostages, and supplies of cattle, are related at length. Then we read that, after going on together for two days, the people before-mentioned, οἱ προειρημένοι, having collected themselves, made the attack. We have been used to understand, from the narrative, that nothing particular happened on the first three days of this march, and that on the fourth day those things, which are said to have happened, began to take place: we have imagined also, that the negotiations of that day were followed by the parties all advancing together for two days in apparent amity. A small attention to the grammar of a few Greek sentences, and to the tenses of the verbs, seems to assure us that the natives came forth with their proposals on that fourth day. It seems marked as the day of that interview, and of the arrangements then made between the parties; and the two days on which they went on together manifestly followed it.

The new view of these things inculcated by Mr. Ellis is this: that the danger incurred on the fourth day was the assault itself, with the battle of the white rock, and all its incidents, as detailed in the history. As to the coming forth of the natives with garlands, the negotiations, hostages, supplies, and guides, with the two days

companionship of this people, and the collection of numbers in the rear of the march; all these, he says, were prior matters, which had belonged to the first, second, and third days from the town: and he requires us to believe that this was intended by Polybius.

For such construction it would have been vain to appeal to the common sense of a reader, or to his logical and grammatical perceptions. But Mr. Ellis, p. 36, has a key to unlock the mystery, and to shew how mistaken we have been in supposing "that the whole narrative of Polybius in this place is one continuous narrative." He points out, p. 40, 41, that "the evident intention of the historian to fix his dates with accuracy must be completely defeated by such *lax* interpretation;" "that it is a *strained* explanation;" "found, on close examination, to be *unfounded*." All this is brought about, through Mr. Ellis's sagacity, in detecting the style of Polybius as a narrator of facts. He reports, p. 6, as a peculiarity of that author's style, that, "before entering into the details of a particular march, event, or military transaction, he gives, in a few lines, what may be regarded as a short statement or summary of the occurrences which took place at that particular period." This seems equivalent to saying, that, if Polybius had divided his books into chapters, and had given titles to those chapters, the words which Mr. Ellis makes prominent would have been those titles. For making his views clear on this subject, Mr. Ellis, p. 7, speaking of his own translation of Polybius, makes this announcement:—"Those parts of his account, which are supposed to be the summaries in question, will be distinguished by being printed in capital letters." Accordingly, on referring to the translation, we find seven of these large-letter summaries, in that portion of the narrative which is dealt with. The specimen which I have just set forth, is that on which chiefly depends the rock of Baune on the fourth day. And I must say that it does not tend to convert me to

the theory. The large letters do not present to my mind anything like a summary or abridgement of the matter which follows. If such had been the purpose of the historian, he might have headed his chapter 'Defeat of the barbarians at the white rock:' at least there would have been some assertion of conflict and the result of it: something beyond 'coming to danger,' for justifying the term Summary, when events of so marked a character were to follow. Indeed there is a page of matter concerning the dealings with that designing people, that fully explains the approach of danger, before the tale of the progress is resumed with the two further days' march. Notwithstanding all this, Mr. Ellis desires to repudiate the continuity of narrative. It is not denied, that, so long as we are in the vicious notion of treating the narrative as continuous, we must allow to *τεταρταῖος* a priority to the two days of moving on together. But Mr. Ellis hopes, by putting that word into a 'Summary,' to remove it from the continuity of narrative and get rid of the injurious effect. The question however, to any man who reads with the desire to understand, is simply this—Does *τεταρταῖος* indicate the date of the ultimate attack, and can all the occurrences, whose narration follows that word, be thrown back upon ἀσφαλῶς διηγεί, and have a date prior to *τεταρταῖος*?

When Mr. Ellis, fascinated by the rock of Baune, urges, p. 37, that these particular portions of Polybius should "be divided into a Summary, and a subsequent " explanation and detailed narrative," he says; "from " this view of the case the history comes out with clear- " ness and precision:" and, "for the justice of his con- " clusion," he appeals specially to two previous summaries, as proving the truth of his doctrine. Quite agreeing with him that each is worthily illustrated by the rest, I will now transcribe another at length, as it stands in his own translation, which he begins in the middle of the 49th chapter:—

‘HANNIBAL, HAVING CONTINUED HIS MARCH FOR FOUR SUCCESSIVE DAYS FROM THE PASSAGE (OF THE RHONE) CAME TO THE DISTRICT CALLED THE ISLAND, A POPULOUS AND CORN-PRODUCING TRACT OF COUNTRY, WHICH DERIVES ITS NAME FROM THE VERY CIRCUMSTANCE (OF ITS FORMATION). For the Rhone flowing on one side of this district, and a river called the Scaras on the other, sharpen it into a point at their confluence. It is similar in size and form to the so-called Delta in Egypt; excepting that, in case of the Delta, the sea forms one side (*i.e.* the third side) by joining the mouths of the rivers (which form the other two sides); whereas the third side of the Island is formed by mountains difficult of approach and entrance, and, it may be said, almost inaccessible. When Hannibal arrived at the Island, he found two brothers contending for the royal power, and encamped with their armies opposite each other; and when the elder brother tried to induce him to second his efforts in acquiring the sovereignty, he listened to the overtures that were made to him: for it was sufficiently evident what advantages he would derive from the assistance of the Gaul at the present juncture. By their combined forces, the second claimant of the sovereignty was attacked and expelled; and Hannibal afterwards received great assistance from the victor. For he not only abundantly supplied the army with corn and all other necessaries, but also exchanged such of their arms and accoutrements as were old and worn out, and equipped afresh all the forces at a time when such aid was very opportune. He also furnished the mass of the soldiers with clothing and shoes, a provision which was of great service for the passage of the mountains. The most signal benefit, however, which he conferred upon them was, that as they were apprehensive of danger while they marched through

the territory of the Gauls who are called Allobroges, he covered their rear with his own troops, and secured for them a safe advance until they approached the passage of the Alps.'

Here again I must say without reserve, that it seems to me quite senseless to call the words which Mr. Ellis has distinguished, a summary of the matter which follows. Those words contain one fact in the tale of Hannibal's progress; namely, that by a march of four days he came from the *διάβασις* to the Island. Every word that follows, except the description of the country, is employed to tell other distinct events, all occurring after the arrival in the Island. To call the first sentence a summary of the rest is to give it a false name. According to this conception of 'summary,' if Mr. Ellis had written a history of the Peninsular War, and had narrated in one chapter the first campaign, his title or summary of that chapter would have been 'Sir Arthur Wellesley goes to Portugal.'

Mr. Ellis has a phrase or two by which he seeks to shield the fallacy of his doctrine. He sees that the one event in his 'summary' is the substantive fact of marching to the Island: and that the rest of the chapter details the warfare which Hannibal found to be going on there, and in which he undertook to support one of two contending parties; that it tells the success of his efforts, the supply of arms and clothing received from him whom he had befriended, and the fact of that ally joining his forces and protecting the onward march through the Allobroges till they came near to the passage of the Alps. These facts being utterly distinct from the fact that stands once for all in his 'summary,' Mr. Ellis is pleased to say that they are incidental to it. The proposition is unphilosophical and unmeaning. To recur to my illustration, Mr. Ellis would by the same handling of words say, that the campaign of 1809 was incidental to and

summed up in the few days voyage which carried our great general to Lisbon. But 'incidental' hardly satisfies Mr. Ellis: he further palliates his doctrine with the ideas of 'episodical' and 'subordinate;' insinuating that the events were in themselves of trivial importance, and might have been omitted from the history of the invasion. In my judgment every fact has importance and interest. Mr. Ellis says otherwise, and embellishes his instruction, pp. 22, 23, with a new fact—"The transactions in the "Island are quite episodical to the rest of the march, and "seem to be kept perfectly distinct by Polybius. Before "proceeding to relate them, he arrests the march of the "army at the confluence of the Isère with the Rhone, "measuring the distance up to that point. No distances "whatsoever are mentioned while the operations in the "Island are related. After concluding his account of "those events, the estimation of distances again begins." Now there is not one word in Polybius, which justifies the statement, that he arrests the march and measures the distance up to that point. On coming to the Isère, there is not a word on the subject of distances; and the particular distance up to that point is not measured by him, either in the 49th chapter here spoken of, or any where else. We have indeed our clue to it from the 39th chapter, where, in his programme of the expedition, he has given the distance of 1400 stadia from the passage of the Rhone along the river to the first Alps. This was said before the history announced the departure from Carthagera: so that, when we read in the 50th chapter, that Hannibal, having come 800 stadia along the river, commenced the ascent of Alps, we deduct this from the 1400, and recognise 600 from the διάβασις to the island. The statement, 'Polybius arrests the march and measures the distance,' is mere fiction.

The other specimen which is invoked in illustration, consists of the whole of the 50th and 51st chapters of

the third book, the occurrences of which are supposed to be summed in the first sentence, which is thus exhibited in Mr. Ellis's translation :—

‘ HANNIBAL, IN THE COURSE OF TEN DAYS, HAVING
ADVANCED ALONG THE RIVER-SIDE FOR A DISTANCE
OF 800 STADIA, COMMENCED THE ASCENT OF THE
ALPS, AND FOUND HIMSELF IN A SITUATION OF THE
GREATEST DANGER.’

These words claim to ‘be regarded as a summary of occurrences before entering into details’—(See Ellis on the peculiarity of Polybius. Treatise, p. 6.)—Accordingly the occurrences summed ought to comprehend the whole conflict by which the army forced the pass the next day. But read the next sentences, as in Mr. Ellis's translation, and you will see that the words ‘situation of greatest danger’ are quite intelligible, without proceeding to actual fighting for explaining them. Mr. Ellis's translation proceeds thus.

‘For, as long as the army continued in the plain, all the petty chieftains of the Allobroges refrained from attacking them, partly from the fear of their cavalry, and partly from fear of the Barbarians who formed their escort. But when these last had returned to their own country, and Hannibal, with his army, was advancing towards the places which were difficult of passage, the chieftains of the Allobroges collected a sufficient body of forces, and took possession of the advantageous posts along the road by which Hannibal was obliged to make his ascent.’

The situation of danger in which Hannibal found himself on leaving the plain country and losing his friends, is clear enough. It was, that the enemy had occupied the narrow pass by which he had to get through the mountain. And yet that one idea ‘situation of danger’ is held up as a Summary of all occurrences on that and the two following days, from Hannibal's sending his spies into the mountains, as told in c. 50, to the

renewal of his march in c. 52, two days after the tremendous conflict on the mountain. I need not recapitulate those important and interesting events. Mr. Ellis has not only read through these two chapters, but translated them, without perceiving that they give 'a continuous narrative.'

One further specimen, a very short one, shall be noticed, because it is connected with the chief purpose of the invention, and bears directly in aid of it by subverting the truth and simplicity of the history. The words which I will quote, being a part of the 53d chapter, immediately follow the account of the battle of the rock, as quoted already. I present the whole in Mr. Ellis's form; summary, and details.

'HANNIBAL HAVING ON THE FOLLOWING DAY, WHEN THE ENEMY HAD RETIRED, REJOINED HIS CAVALRY AND BAGGAGE-ANIMALS, LED ON HIS ARMY TO THE HIGHEST SUMMITS OF THE ALPS, WITHOUT MEETING AGAIN WITH ANY CONSIDERABLE BODY OF THE BARBARIANS, ALTHOUGH PARTS OF HIS ARMY WERE HARASSED BY THEM AT VARIOUS PLACES ON THE ROAD. For they, watching their opportunity, assaulted and carried off the baggage-animals, sometimes from the rear, and sometimes from the van, of the line of march. Upon these occasions, the elephants were of very great service; for the Barbarians were so much alarmed at the extraordinary appearance of these animals, that they were deterred from attacking any part of the line where the elephants were to be found.'

This specimen is distinguished in the Summary system, by the summary being nearly as long as the matter summed. But the contrivance has its object. That object is to make out, that Hannibal did not push up to the summit on the morning after the battle; and to make us believe that, having fought on the fourth day of Alps, he spent nearly five days more in reaching the

summit. Accordingly those few lines quoted, with their precious 'summary,' are to account for five days of the Carthaginian operations! Does Mr. Ellis believe in this himself? Does he hope to make any one believe it? He strikes out the comma after ἐπαύριον, asking us, p. 48, to disconnect that term, 'on the morrow,' from the verb of the sentence, and to annex it only to the idea of having reunited the forces. He says, "all that the Greek implies as having occurred 'on the morrow,' is the junction of the two divisions of the army after the enemy had retired." This won't do. That note of time belongs to προῆγε, as clearly as τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον in the 44th chapter belongs to ἐξαπέστειλε: δὲ belongs to the verb, and τῇ ἐπαύριον also. The word συνάψας cannot monopolise this note of time: it has a very small share in it.

And now see, how the few scanty incidents, to which Mr. Ellis has gravely assigned a special summary of their own, are magnified, so as to require five days for enacting them. After saying, that the usual interpretation is an unfounded one, and that it is *not natural* to suppose that ἐπαύριον can be the same day that is indicated in ἐνναυαῖος (a word which he reserves for another summary), Mr. Ellis, p. 48, thus supplies events for his five days:—"Most probably the inhabitants of the *several districts*, through which the army *successively* passed, "seized any favourable opportunity of plundering."—"Neither would any sufficient time be left, if this view "were adopted, for the *series* of *repeated attacks*, on "various parts of the army, and in *different localities*, "which are *recorded* to have been made between the "neighbourhood of the Rock and the summit of the "pass." Then further, as if to strengthen a rash proposition by repeating it, he says:—"The predatory attacks "which the Carthaginians suffered during this part of "the march, were, in all probability, made by the *inhabitants of the several districts* through which they "passed; and the immediate neighbourhood of the sum-

“mits of the Alpine passes was not inhabited in the time of Polybius.” Now the truth is this: the short march in question was wholly in such uninhabited neighbourhood: the “several successive districts,” with the inhabitants thereof, and the “different recorded localities,” are the creations of Mr. Ellis alone. The words of Polybius, if taken unadorned with the additions of his interpreter, amount to this; that Hannibal, having in his wisdom staid back about the white rock during the night, pushed on in the morning and reached the col, the barbarians having dispersed themselves, and only a few marauders seeking opportunity to commit depredations on one or other part of the column of march. The few ideas quoted, summary and all, do in fact belong to and wind up the history of the battle.

I have endeavoured fairly to expose this new dogma of Summaries, and the perversion of an historical narrative which is the only result of its invention. Polybius is a writer, who gives his facts in a plain straightforward way; and this miserable scheme of sham abridgements is utterly abhorrent from his style. There was not even a division into chapters, till a few years ago, when it was made, I believe, by Professor Schweighæuser.

MR. ELLIS'S APPLICATION OF HIS CONDITIONS TO HIS OWN THEORY.

If I have justly impeached the principles by which Mr. Ellis would construe the Polybian narrative, his theory of the march falls to the ground. I will nevertheless comment on particular topics, which he has brought forward separately into notice, when exhibiting the conformities of his theory.

The 800 stadia along the river.

Although Polybius states that Hannibal had in ten days marched *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν* as far as 800 stadia, and although Mr. Ellis denies that, and declares that he left the river on the eighth of those days and fought his way through the first Alps on the ninth, yet he is unwilling to repudiate the distance so distinctly as he has rejected the time. He tries to bring the distance up the Isère to Le Cheylas as near to 800 stadia as he can, and pronounces it to be $87\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles, viz. 700 stadia. He says, p. 89, "From Valence to Grenoble the distance is 96 kilometres: and from Grenoble to Le Cheylas the distance is 33 kilometres. The total distance therefore from Valence, or from the junction of the Rhone and Isère, to Le Cheylas, is 129 kilometres or $87\frac{1}{2}$ Roman miles." Now, though 700 is not 800, I should still like to know how Mr. Ellis made it even 700. He does not give us a hint of where his figures come from: whether he measured it himself, or ever travelled the supposed route himself. I have a remark to make on his first stretch of 96 kilometres to Grenoble: but have no clue to the other. There is a post-road from Valence to Grenoble, but not on Mr. Ellis's side of the river. It

crosses the Isère at Romans, and continues on the north side to Grenoble. We know the enormous bend which the river makes below Grenoble. Mr. Ellis proceeding up the south side within the curve ought to make a shorter distance than the post road which is without the curve: and yet the post road is not 96 kilomètres. The livre de poste, 1842, exhibits, not 96, but 94 kilomètres. Valence to Romans, 18. to Fauries, 12. St. Marcellin, 14. L'Allégrerie, 11. Tullins, 11. Voreppe, 12. Grenoble, 16. = 94. I doubt therefore that Mr. Ellis's route is in distance even the 700 which he represents. That it is inadmissible from its difficulty and unfitness for cavalry cannot be doubted. The country within that loop of the river that has been mentioned, is all difficult mountain, although it is reckoned in the *ἐπιπεδα* of M. Letronne. And here let me do justice to one who, while he follows that savant through this perplexed country, shews some love of fair play in a way that is at least creditable to his candour. M. Lavalette follows M. Letronne up the Isère and up the Drac. M. Larauza, whose route was the same as theirs till they got to the Drac, but no further, had criticised their line up the Drac as impracticable. M. Lavalette answers fairly enough, that, if Larauza could put up with the country below Grenoble, he was not the man to find fault with the route up the Drac. 'Si, malgré les obstacles que paraît offrir le pays situé entre Valence et Grenoble, le savant professeur a cru qu'Annibal avait franchi cette distance, il ne saurait être admis à présenter comme impossible le trajet de l'embouchure du Drac à Saint-Bonnet.'

Battle with the Allobroges.

This subject is closely allied with topics which have been already dealt with: the Island; the River; the Allobroges themselves; and the mode of reckoning days. But it is also open to scrutiny in regard of the fitness of

the positions suggested for the incidents of the conflict. Mr. Ellis has taken much pains in an engraved plan of this engagement, exhibiting the valley which leads from the Isère at Le Cheylas to Allevard, in which is what he calls the gorge of Le Fay. Among the visions of Alpine research which offered themselves to my imagination in the summer of 1854, was that of tracing the Carthaginian track of Mr. Ellis. Unfortunately I have not seen a yard of it: nor do I indulge the expectation that I ever shall. I accept in this part, as I find it, the representation of a country which I never heard of before, and which till last year has never been thought of in this controversy. I can only, as on other points, compare Mr. Ellis with Polybius.

Mr. Ellis's defile (*τὰ στενὰ*) through which the Carthaginian army first invaded the Alps, is up the course of a river which runs from the east into the Isère: and it is among his 'conditions,' p. 95, that the town, where Hannibal halted and encamped, was situated above the defile; meaning, that it was on high ground above the pass. There is no authority in Polybius for that assertion.

Mr. Ellis's first Alps rise above Le Cheylas. I do not know myself, but many must know, whether, on reaching Le Cheylas, a man receives the impression that he has now come to his first Alps: until further informed, I shall doubt it. From that place Mr. Ellis strikes into his first Alps along a stream: and perhaps he thinks that the *στενὰ* of Polybius require a stream. In this I should not agree. I consider that the narrow and strikingly marked depression in our course of mountain along the east side of the Island, the pass through which you are brought out above the lake of Bourget, represents *τὰ στενὰ* as well as the narrowest gorge through which a river flows: and I think it probable that the Mont du Chat furnishes precipices that served for the destruction of man and beast, with more terrific effect than those which may be found at Mr. Ellis's torrent des Sailhes.

If I could see Mr. Ellis's town, I should have no further comment to make on it. A modern town on a probable site aids no theory. The want of such a town damages no theory. I am indifferent to a town under the Mont du Chat. If I cared for it, I should repudiate those which are suggested by my friends of the Oxford Dissertation; Chambery, Vieux Chambery, and that on which they rest at last, Bourget. As it is plain to me that the the Mont du Chat gave passage to Hannibal, the village of Bordeau on the border of the lake immediately below the pass, shews pretty well where must have been the site of that, which Polybius calls the town, and speaks of as the dormitory and depôt of the Allobrogian force.

The attack of the Barbarians near the white rock.

Mr. Ellis is probably the only Englishman, perhaps the only tourist, that ever went through the defile by the rock of Baune. The elaborate manner in which he has portrayed the positions of the contending parties on the mountains above that rock, in the engraving opposite to p. 112, is very striking. Of course we accept the geographical portrait: and Mr. Ellis's edition of the battle may be taken to correspond with it. But we have still to inquire, whether it corresponds with the history.

Polybius's description of the battle is defective. But that is not his fault. He spoke according to his limited means of gaining information: and a want of detail is not to be blamed as if we were dealing with a general's dispatches after an engagement. The defect is, that there is nothing to shew the mode by which the onward parts of the column of march were relieved from the particular assailants whose attack upon them is described. The mass of the enemy, we know, was behind the march, and was kept in check by the heavy infantry. If Mr. Ellis had only offered his conjecture, that Hannibal in

person headed some movement towards the front in the course of the day, this would be quite unobjectionable. But he goes very far beyond this; and states, as pronounced by the history, facts which are not only unauthorised by it, but, as seems to me, in opposition to it. In his discussion of the narrative, after describing the assault on the van with stones thrown by those who occupied the slopes above the road, and with rocks rolled down the steeper declivities, he says, p. 45: "No danger was now to be apprehended on the rear: the heavy infantry there held the Gauls in check, and Hannibal was enabled to devote his personal efforts to the safety of the van. For this purpose it must have been necessary to gain possession of the heights above the slopes, where the Carthaginians had suffered so severely from rocks and stones. The light infantry would be the arm to which this service would naturally be intrusted: but it cannot be said whether they composed all the forces on the occasion. One half of the Carthaginian army, that is to say, about 20,000 men, were led on by Hannibal in person against the Gauls on the mountains, and succeeded either in driving them back, or in manœuvring so as to make them abandon their posts. However his purpose may have been effected, he at length took up a position where he was able to guard the rest of his army as it resumed the interrupted march through the ravine. This march was performed *during the night*, which may have been about to fall when Hannibal took up his *position on the heights*. He probably thought that *during the night he could draw his army off better from the Gauls in the rear*, who perhaps would not suspect that such a movement was contemplated, even if the fatigue and ill success of the conflict of the day had not rendered them indisposed for an immediate renewal of hostilities. *During all the night Hannibal* remained in position, separated from the rest of his army as it defiled through the ravine. On the morrow,

“ the Gauls having withdrawn, Hannibal rejoined his
 “ cavalry and baggage, and resumed his journey towards
 “ the summit of the Alps.”

In this discussion there is no notice of the white rock ; but a good deal about heights. Mr. Ellis reports that one half of the army, about 20,000, were led by Hannibal in person against the enemy on the mountains, and took position on the heights, and so remained during the night. Now Polybius does once, and only once, speak of half the army, and of Hannibal in person, and of the night: but it is in these words: ὥστ' ἀναγκασθῆναι τὸν Ἀννίβαν μετὰ τῆς ἡμισείας δυνάμεως νυκτερεῦσαι περὶ τὸ λευκόπετρον ὄχυρόν χωρὶς τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, ἐφεδρεύοντα τούτοις.—There is not a word in the history about ‘leading on,’ either up the mountains or anywhere else: but all is consistent with Hannibal’s maintaining his strength in the rear, and preventing all passage of the enemy round to the van of the march. The account of his ‘leading 20,000 up the mountains, there taking position, and so remaining during the night,’ is Mr. Ellis’s variation of νυκτερεῦσαι περὶ λευκόπετρον. A liberal version: but more in keeping with the plan of the battle which accompanies the Treatise, than with the text of the historian. And yet Mr. Ellis is teaching us “from “the narrative of Polybius.” He says, p. 46, “The “most remarkable circumstance it contains, a circumstance which gives an important clue by which the “scene of this contest may be found, is *the fact of Hannibal’s having posted 20,000 men on the heights*, away “from the rest of his army, and for the sake of ensuring “its safety.” This fact may have given the clue to Mr. Ellis: but he did not get it from Polybius. This fact however helps Mr. Ellis to identify the ground: his next words are; “This circumstance at once suggests the “existence of an extent of practicable ground above the “slopes on one side of the road, by no means usually to “be found in the Alps.” Such was the extent of this

practicable ground in Mr. Ellis's conception, that he says it must have held a portion of the enemy's force behind this half of the Carthaginian army : accordingly we see in his engraved plan six substantial bodies of the enemy well drawn up on higher heights than those occupied by Hannibal and the 20,000. I do not well see whence the hostile force, so depicted, can have come. They would not be allowed to pass forward from behind, after the attack began : and it seems to me improbable, that the preoccupiers of the slopes, prior to the army coming up, were great in numbers.

As the authentic narrative is wanting in detail, we must all conjecture some incidents beyond what are expressed : and I think it probable, that the minor body who were employed to harass the column by projecting rocks and stones upon them, were disposed of in no very long time by an effort adequate to the purpose. I believe the white rock to stand on the border of a torrent : but I do not urge this as a fact from Polybius : for this reason, that he has not said it. But there is an expression of the historian, which I consider worthy of notice, after reading Mr. Ellis's operations on the heights and the object of them. Hannibal was obliged to pass the night &c. away from his cavalry and baggage, ἐφεδρεύοντα τοῦτοις, ἕως &c. Mr. Ellis understands this protection to have been given by his occupying the heights, and intervening between these who were below and an enemy posted behind himself on still higher ground. I infer from the history, that the support which he gave them, was by being in force behind them, though at a considerable interval of space. Polybius had just before stated the good that resulted from placing the cavalry and baggage cattle first in the line of march, and the heavy-armed in the rear ; adding, τούτων δὲ ἐφεδρευόντων, ἔλαττον συνέβη γενέσθαι τὸ πάθος· οὗτοι γὰρ ἔσπεξαν τὴν ἐπιφορὰν &c. The same word ἐφεδρεύοντα being so soon used again, I conceive the same kind of support, namely a support from the

rear to be intended by it: especially as Mr. Ellis's charges and positions on heights, which might interfere with this construction, are all imaginary. He calls attention to *χωρὶς τῶν ἱππῶν* &c., as shewing that Hannibal was greatly separated from the van of the march. I fully agree in the separation, but not that it was caused by his high position superimpending the objects of his protection. I conceive that, from the first moment of attack, although no doubt the disturbers of the head of the column were to be destroyed or hunted out of the ravine, still the great business was to prevent reinforcements from getting round to them. This being prevented, the safety of the van was secured by the rear, notwithstanding a great interval of separation: and though the history is not instructive on the subject, I cannot doubt that those forerunners of the enemy whose mode of assault is particularly described, were promptly exterminated.

Before Mr. Ellis comes to his account of the battle, there is a geographical description of the surrounding country, in which the rock of Baune is duly mentioned. But in the strategical details which follow, and which are most minute, he is as shy of the expression *περὶ λευκόπετρον*, as most critics are eager about it. In his plan it stretches north from the Arc for nearly a mile: but, if we look for *νυκτερεῦσαι περὶ λευκόπετρον*, we see Hannibal and his 20,000 drawn up on the mountains nearly two miles away from this rock, and the enemy drawn up behind them. This hardly explains *περὶ*: though perhaps it is as good as the common construction of the word, by which the white rock is expected to hold half the army packed closely together on the top of it.

The white rock certainly is a feature of the scene of action, which we should endeavour to apply, according to the way in which it is mentioned, to our interpretation of the narrative. It must have struck Polybius as a remarkable object. I have seen only the *λευκόπετρον* of

the Reclus and under sad disadvantages. A day for personal examination was impossible: and the observation which a traveller can make, moving forward in his track, is not enough. Its position entitles it to be called ὄχυρόν. It is here that some advocates of the Little St. Bernard consider the army to have entered the ravine, being in fact the bed of a torrent, and, so far as I could judge, with little or no footing on either side. It certainly can be almost dry, towards the end of September: but this is not likely towards the end of October. At present an entrance would be impossible: and I wonder that one thing has not been stipulated for, which seems requisite in order to support the hypothesis; namely, that the passage through it was in old times free from the masses of rock by which it is now blocked up. Such a supposition is very reasonable. The water runs under enormous blocks of stone, which not only defy all passage, but prevent you from seeing beyond them, as you cross the stream by the bridge below the rock. It is quite possible, that the deposits may have fallen detached from the mountains into the channel of the torrent during the last two thousand years. The narrowness of the channel arrests them in their present position. I will suppose then at present that this was the φάραξ of Polybius; the precipice of gypsum rising from it on one side; and the precipice, for such it is, of the modern St. Germain on the other: both unclimbable in 218 B.C. The mountain on the left bank of the stream ends with this white rock: that is, arriving at the plain, it bends away along the northern side of the plain; and, after leaving that corner, may be ascended with more or less difficulty.* Thus it was possible for the multitude, who had followed Hannibal into the plain of Scez, to make their efforts for

* The Roman track behind the white rock, alluded to in the Oxford Dissertation and by Mr. Brockedon, did not catch my eye. I never was less fit to search for it.

circumventing the van of the column over those mountains. But Hannibal's large force in the rear, holding the plain of Scez, with the rock as a point d'appui, or head-quarters, was available to spread itself to all necessary distance, and to prohibit the Barbarians from so strengthening the attacks on the advanced body.* Hannibal perfected the safety of that body, by preventing, to all requisite extent, a hostile progress from behind. This view of the subject offends against no words of the history, and will perhaps be acquiesced in, by those who know the plain of Scez, and consider that it must have been the terminus of inhabited country towards the foot of the mountain. No one will conceive that there was a human dwelling on the summit. To go more into detail here would not suit the purpose of these pages—I have desired chiefly to call attention to what the historian has said, pointing out what he has not said.

Hannibal pointing out the Plains of the Po.

Mr. Ellis's explanation of Polybius in regard to this subject, will be found in his discussion of Livy, where he tries to make them agree. But the particular place, to which he attributes the supposed view, may here be noticed. No view of the plain of the Po is to be had on the Mont Cenis, from the point culminant to the lowest limit of the plain, which falls from that point to La Grande Croix where the precipitous descent begins; a

* The barbarian conference, on the fourth day of the renewed march, is supposed by those who believe in the Little St. Bernard, to have taken place near Conflans, now Albertville. And my conjecture is, that those who assailed the van with stones &c., having preoccupied certain posts, had not followed the march: but that they came by the valleys of Beaufort and Bonneval to the Reclus, having received the impulse from the original conspirators, and taken that shorter route to intercept the march.

length of more than four miles. Neither is there any such view afterwards, till you nearly reach Novalèse on the old road where the descent ends, or St. Martin on the new road half way down to Susa after the great difficulties have been overcome. But the environs of the Cenis pass, abounding in precipitous cliffs, have invited the advocates of that pass to search for views, without much regarding the labour of reaching them. Two Swedish gentlemen, writing in 1764, seem to have obtained a good view by going for their amusement half way up one of the high cliffs which border the plateau of the Cenis to what they call 'la hauteur du Prieuré;' and they presume that the Carthaginian army did the same. M. Larauza, after personally toiling, in deliberate search for a view, from Susa over the Cenis, was content at last with the absurdity of the Corna Rossa. The unknown author of an article called 'Hannibal' in Blackwood's Magazine, 'settled the point' (so he says) by sketching the plains plus the Apennine, from what he calls 'the southern front of the summit,' on the anniversary of Hannibal's passage; and he claims our belief, because the sketch is still in his own possession.* If the question 'View or no View' were of any importance, Mr. Ellis would stand at least on better ground than these earlier travellers.

Mr. Ellis's view is not among the sketches in his book: but the place for finding it is clearly described in p. 115. The known road down from the lake on the Mont Cenis is bordered on the right by a range of hills: the track from the Little Mont Cenis goes down on the other side of these hills, till it passes through them and joins the known road in order to arrive at La Grande Croix. Mr. Ellis reports that, if, instead of so passing through the hollow in these hills, you keep up and go forward upon them, you come to a promontory, whence

* I will notice this further in a note at the end of this chapter.

is the View. It appears strange, that an object, so obvious and so attainable to a traveller as this is described to be, should have escaped the zeal and diligence of Larauza: and this of itself suggests some doubt on the sufficiency of the report. It is indeed quite without importance: but we will assume the description to be correct, and see what Mr. Ellis has to say upon it.

His own treatment of the subject betrays some misgivings not usual in his style. We discover that he is aware of the force of ἐνάργεια: for he himself introduces, p. 52, "the ἐνάργεια τῆς Ἰταλίας, or manifestation of "Italy." 'Manifestation' is a good word, and means much the same as 'evidence.' Indeed the manifestation which I would insist upon, could not escape Mr. Ellis, when he walked down to La Grande Croix in company with La Cenise: for this river, having its source near the summit, runs through the lake, and arrives with no small speed at La Grande Croix, when it becomes a fearful torrent. Mr. Ellis says, among his observations on Hannibal's address to the soldiers, "that his object was "not to convey information but encouragement." Surely then the fact of their having surmounted the culminating point of the march, of which the descending river was a most intelligible proof, was a conclusive encouragement. It told the same fact as a sight of distant plain; namely that they had now only to descend and join their friends against the common enemy.

Mr. Ellis however, when discussing his essentials, p. 51, 53, and pronouncing condemnation of all rival theories, is more lively on his Polybian 'view' than when he comes to illustrate it from his chosen spot on the Cenis. "Not only did the fertile plains of Italy greet "their sight; but it even seemed, as their eyes possessed "themselves of the country upon which they looked "down, and rested upon the distant Apennines, which "alone, as they believed, separated them from Rome, "that the great city itself, the prize for which they had

“dared so much, was then almost within their grasp.—It
 “cannot be supposed that Polybius would have spoken
 “of Hannibal, either as shewing or as pointing to that
 “which was at the time out of sight. Nor is it easy to
 “conceive, unless Italy itself lay before their eyes, how
 “the soldiers would have derived much encouragement
 “from all Hannibal’s words. For this it was essential
 “that Italy should be visibly present, and their extri-
 “cation from the fatal region of the Alps evidently at
 “hand, the utmost limits of the mountains, and the
 “country beyond being plainly descried. Otherwise
 “Hannibal would have had no foundation on which to
 “ground his encouraging exhortations.” I think it has
 appeared, that he would have had a very good founda-
 tion : at the same time, if the object of their march lay
 before their eyes, his words might have been dispensed
 with ; especially if they were to make an extra march in
 order to hear them. Mr. Ellis gives a very low standard,
 both of Hannibal’s oratory and of the intellects of his
 men, if he could only explain, and they could only under-
 stand from him, that which their own eyes had informed
 them of already. Afterwards indeed he pretty well
 comes round to these notions. When he has to apply
 these manifestations to the Cenis, he lets us know at last
 that there was very little to be seen ; and not much to be
 got by listening to a speech in explanation of it. He
 says, p. 116, “It is only a very small* portion of Italy
 “that is descried : but the existence of any extensive
 “prospect does not seem to be required by the narrative.
 “In fact, if we suppose the action, intimated by the word
 “*ἐνδεικνύμενος*, to have been a natural and not merely an
 “oratorical gesture, we should be led to imagine, that
 “only a small part of the plain was visible : for to any
 “very large expanse it would have been superfluous to
 “direct attention.”

* Not so very small, if the Apennine above Genoa was seen beyond it.

Mr. Ellis is wise in not supposing the whole Padan plain to be intended: for it reached to the Adriatic. But I suspect the scope of his view to be even too small for his purpose; too small to have provoked a delay of the progress of the army by an adjournment to this promontory. If indeed it required to be explained to one man at a time, this would satisfy Mr. Ellis' idea of the indication natural, as distinguished from the indication oratorical. But common sense urges one to ask, would Hannibal ever have invited his worn-out men to receive this information, adding the length even of a mile or two to their day's work? Mr. Ellis, no doubt making the best of it, describes it, p. 115, thus, "Turning to the south, along the crest of the heights, *from this point*, " (the opening in the hills through which was to be their "road of descent) so as to ascend out of the hollow " through which the path runs, and thus arrive upon the " long summit of the ridge, the traveller will gain a " prospect of Italy in the course of *some five minutes*. " The view is better seen from the southernmost extremity of these eminences, a walk of a *few minutes further*. The part of the hilly range from whence this " prospect is gained, and which lies to the south of the " depression through which the path runs, forms a ridge " *about half a mile* in length, without any definite head " rising above the general level of its summit. It presents " a very steep slope towards La Grande Croix,* and " terminates, as before mentioned, above the plain of St. " Nicholas, in a very lofty precipice. From the crest of " this ridge it may be conjectured that Hannibal pointed " out Italy to his army. Great numbers might have " collected on the long summit, so that many hundreds " of men might have looked upon Italy at once." Mr. Ellis further instructs us that "the country seen would " be the district where the cities of Alba and Acqui are

* After your view, you must walk all the way back again.

"situated. In the extreme distance the chain of the 'Apennines closes the view.' I have no means of knowing how far this may be the case on a favouring day. Whether Mr. Ellis himself saw anything of the kind, he does not inform us.

He has at all events the credit of abstaining from the *falaise* of Mr. Grosley, the *Corna Rossa* of *Larauza*, and the undefined 'south front' of the artist whose pencil settled the point. He has perhaps found a less impossible, though hardly less improbable promontory. The whole question of ocular view is in my judgment immaterial: as no such problem grows out of the history of Polybius. But, if I could admit its relevancy, and Mr. Ellis could demonstrate the existence of his view, I should still disbelieve that Hannibal would impose upon his soldiers the *extra viam* which Mr. Ellis has discovered for them. He has however denoted a spot where a view may be found: and, if the instruction is correct, any one who cares for it can find it.

Note, on an article in Blackwood's Magazine.

I have alluded to an article entitled 'Hannibal,' which appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine*, June 1845, p. 757. It is in parts well written. That which relates to the line of march is to the effect which I will state. Having said that general opinion inclines to the Little St. Bernard, the author says that, "after having visited and traversed "on foot both passes, he has no hesitation in expressing "his decided conviction that Hannibal passed by Mont "Cenis." He enumerates seven reasons for this opinion. The view is one. The fact, that he saw it, rests on his own assertion; and the conclusiveness of this proof may fairly depend on the more ascertainable value of some of his other reasons, which will therefore be noticed presently. He says, "From the summit of the Little St. Bernard you can see nothing of Italy." This is true.

He then says, "From the southern front of the summit of the Mont Cenis, not only the plains of Piedmont are distinctly visible at the opening of the lower end of the valley of Susa, but the Apennines beyond them can be seen." As this statement only brings some plain into view at the end of the valley of Susa, it is most probable that his mountains beyond were Alps not Apennines. Whether his eye embraced any portion of the Padan plain, no one can tell: but he immediately adds a fact, by means of which the question might be solved. "To settle this important point, the author made a sketch of both on the spot, on the 24th of October, the very time of Hannibal's passage, which is still in his possession." This then, as yet only known to the witness himself, might become the evidence of his accuracy. Let him produce it. Let it appear at Dickenson's or Colnaghi's. If engraved, a traveller bound for Turin will be glad to have it. As to the sketch being made from the southern front of the summit, we will understand 'summit' liberally, as embracing the four or five miles from the highest point down to La Grande Croix, where the precipitous descent begins. The artist need not fear criticism on his touch or force of style. The anniversary of Hannibal will give excuse to his pencil. In the course of his essay he reports the site of the broken way to be 'within the circle of perpetual snow'; and as he sketched at some hundreds of feet above that place, his fingers would be touched with frost, and lose their usual freedom.

I proceed to the other six reasons. The author says, "Hannibal reached the summit on the ninth day after he had left the plains of Dauphiné. This period coincides well with what might have then been required, to ascend from the neighbourhood of Grenoble or Echelles: while the ascent to the summit of the Little St. Bernard would not require more than half the time." This is luminous: while we are allowed to choose between Les Echelles and Grenoble, as representing the terminus of

the plains of Dauphiné, the author gives no hint, as to the route by which he would make Hannibal get to either of those places, or that by which he should get from them. The latter it would be particularly useful to know, before we try to make a measurement. As the author had some peculiar process for estimating one ascent at four days and a half, while the other required nine, he might at least have given us his line of march, if not his reasons for adopting it.

The conflict with the Allobroges is assigned to the defile of St. Jean de Maurienne. Rather sharp work, for Hannibal and his picked men to have threaded a defile there, the very night after he finished the plain, whether that was at Les Echelles or Grenoble! I wonder whether this writer had in mind the short cut that Mr. Ellis attributes to Julius Cæsar.*

On the broken way, the author says this:—"The steep and rocky declivity by which the old road descended to the valley of Susa, corresponds perfectly to the famous places mentioned both by Livy and Polybius, where the path had been torn away by a recent avalanche. This place is immediately below the summit of the pass." This assertion of a famous place is too indefinite to be instructive: but the comment which follows on the rival pass, illustrates its value. "The corresponding chasm on the southern side of the Little St. Bernard is below the reach of avalanches." The term 'southern side' is utterly without meaning. And why 'below the reach of avalanches?' La Tuile is more than 1000 feet higher than Novalèse. The chasm alluded to is known well enough: and the certainty of the fact which is here denied renders comment on the doctrine superfluous. There is no fact in the range of this controversy so well attested by known witnesses, De Saussure at the head of them, as the frequent destruction of the path above the Baltea torrent by avalanches,

* See post, Mr. Ellis's proofs of Antiquity.

which at last induced its discontinuance and the construction of a road on the right bank. Any eye can see that the left side is now swept smooth by frequent visitations. As this writer espouses the notion, that the snow-line was of old much lower than now, I should have expected him rather to say, that a chasm, which at the present day is often choked up by avalanches through the following season, was *à fortiori* subject to that casualty 2000 years ago. But he seems to have a stronger doctrine, one which, if true, would be very convenient to the inhabitants of the Alps, namely that 'below the snow-line' and 'below the reach of avalanches,' are almost the same thing. He adopts the error of other writers about the snow-line of Polybius, and then says:—"This shews the place was within the circle of perpetual snow: whereas that on the Little St. Bernard is much below it, and far beneath any avalanches." He is no doubt aware, that the county of Sussex in England is not within the circle of perpetual snow. And yet, a very few years ago, cottages under the cliff at Lewes were overwhelmed by an avalanche, and human life destroyed.

The λευκόπετρον is identified thus—"On the summit of the Mont Cenis is still to be seen a white rock, called the Roche Blanche, which answers to the λευκόπετρον, mentioned by Polybius, on the summit of the Alps which Hannibal crossed: whereas there is nothing like it on the Little St. Bernard, at least of such a magnitude as to have formed a place of night-refuge to Hannibal." Whoever sent this to Mr. Blackwood, never looked into Polybius. Mr. Ellis, who takes five days to mount from the white rock to the summit, would be horrified with this doctrine more even than other readers of Polybius. The artist may have seen a white rock on his summit of Alps; and it may stand perhaps in the foreground of his sketch: but neither in Polybius, nor in the worst French or English translation has he ever read of it. The magnitude of his night-refuge may

be worthy of contemplation on its own merits: but unfortunately he does not disclose whereabouts he fell in with it, in the four or five miles over which the plateau of the Cenis extends.

The next reason, which the author proclaims as 'perhaps the most important of all' is in the speed of the descent, on which he contrasts the Cenis and the Little St. Bernard as to their agreement with the description of Polybius. He says:—"This description of the distances tallies perfectly with the passage by Mont Cenis, for it is only half a day's journey to descend from the summit of that pass to Susa—and a short day's journey more brings the traveller to the plain of Piémont. But it is utterly irreconcilable with the idea that the Carthaginians passed by the Little St. Bernard: for from its summit to the plains of Ivrea is four days' hard marching for an army, through the narrow valley of Aosta, destitute for the most part of forage." Now this objection on the computation of four days' marching is not a happy one. Polybius makes it a good five days. They moved from the summit on the eleventh day of Alps: Hannibal got the elephants away from the κρημνοὶ some time on the thirteenth, and on the third day from the κρημνοὶ, being the fifteenth of Alps, touched the plain. Fifteen is the declared total: and it is not to be inferred that the entire armament was even on that day disgorged from Alps into plain. The other proposition, 'destitute for the most part of forage,' is a great mistake. The valley of Aosta abounds in fine pastures up to the very precipice of Mont Blanc. If the artist will, on his next tour, make his abode with the good Laurent Bertollini at the Hôtel Royal Courmayeur, he will, besides everything else to make a man comfortable, find evidence of good pasturage in the excellence of the milk: we have tasted none so good since we left those quarters.

The author says finally, "This valley of Aosta is very rocky and narrow, and affords many positions, where a

“handful of men can arrest an army: in one of which, that of Bard, a small Austrian garrison stopped Napoleon for twenty-four hours.” There is no Alpine valley of any extent, that does not contain such defensible positions: but the criticism is essentially unsound. It was the policy of the Austrians to stop Napoleon. It was not the policy of the Salassians to stop Hannibal. Like other Gauls, they sympathised in the object of his expedition.

The broken path and the last year's snow.

At about a mile below La Ferrière and two miles short of Novalèse, Mr. Ellis professes to identify the mauvais pas, which obstructed the Carthaginian progress. In his general discussion which ends with the ‘conditions,’ he explains his views, p. 54, thus:—“They arrived at a place, where their line of route ran along the face of a crumbling precipice, and where the path had been carried away, together with the face of the precipice, by a recent landslip.” Then, in p. 58, 59, “Hannibal’s attempt to effect a circuit was frustrated. The course he had selected brought him upon a very steep declivity of snow, where a mass, that was hard and compact, and which had remained there since the previous winter, was thinly covered with snow that had recently fallen.” —“Now the places where patches of permanent snow lie, are principally gullies in the mountain-sides, into the hollows of which the snow naturally drifts, and which occasionally form the channels of avalanches. In consequence of the fall of one of these, old snow may sometimes be found, even at the end of summer, at a very low level. This circumstance gives us some reason to suspect, that it was by a gully that Hannibal attempted to make his circuit; a suspicion strengthened by the fact that such a course would be the most natural one for a man to adopt. Whenever a man,

“ descending a mountain where there is no track, finds
 “ his progress arrested by arriving at the edge of a range
 “ of precipices, he naturally keeps along their summit,
 “ till he finds a gully breaking through them from above,
 “ and affording him a tolerably safe passage down to
 “ their feet. A course of this nature would not im-
 “ probably be that adopted by Hannibal, although it
 “ must, in his case, have been of an easier kind than is
 “ usual, as he would never have attempted to bring his
 “ whole army, men, animals, and baggage, down by such
 “ a line as might be taken by an unencumbered traveller.”
 This explanation seems to import that the attempt to get
 round the bad part of the path to a part where it was
 sound again, was made by climbing up from the point of
 obstruction, and then moving forward to find a gully.

Mr. Ellis afterwards, in shewing how the Mont
 Cenise route satisfies the ‘ conditions,’ p. 120 to 122, points
 out that a part of the old road from La Ferrière to La
 Novalèse is carried along a precipitous mountain-side,
 on the left bank of the Cenise, beginning where the river
 sinks into a narrow gorge. That mountain-side must
 face nearly south: this indeed appears by his speaking
 of the hollow as bounded by lofty mountains on north
 and south; also by his speaking of the east and west sides
 of the gully. He says:—“ From the point where the
 “ path first begins to skirt the precipice, about a mile
 “ below La Ferrière, it was nearly in straight line,
 “ gradually descending, for about three hundred yards.
 “ It then meets with a gully, laying open the mountain-
 “ side, and quite impassable where the path first en-
 “ counters it, on account of the sheerly precipitous
 “ character of its eastern face.” He then tells us that
 the old track, still visible, here makes an angle back,
 and, turning again, reaches the gully lower down, and
 there used to cross it: but that it was on the first line
 that Hannibal’s path failed him. On the mode by which
 the Carthaginians made their way to this gully, Mr. Ellis

now, p. 123, 4, makes these observations:—" If all the ground to the west of the gully was broken up, but the path, as appears to have been the case, remained uninjured on the east of the gully, then the way by which Hannibal would naturally have attempted to rejoin the path where it was undestroyed, would have been down the gully itself. From the point, where the path from La Ferrière first begins to run along the precipice, it would not be very difficult (for men alone it would be easy) to pursue a directly straight course (represented by the broken line in the sketch) as far as the gully. A great part of the ground which would be traversed, is now covered with grass, and quite unlike the crumbling face of the precipice beneath. Hannibal's army however could not cross it, for its eastern face is quite precipitous; but would be obliged to attempt to descend by its channel. The calamitous results which Polybius mentions would then naturally follow." Mr. Ellis's view of the course by which the armament reached the gully is not quite clear to me: his portrait of the mountain-side can be referred to, where the old path and other things are marked out. It is clear at all events that he supposes the attempt to come down the gully to have been made at a point of considerable elevation and exposure: and his story imports that the entire perpendicular length of the gully was occupied with old snow equivalent to ice, and covered with new snow. We ask here, on what grounds does he imagine that this south-faced mountain was maintaining the snow of the previous winter from the top to the bottom of it?

He admits, p. 123, that " no permanent snow is now found anywhere near the path between La Ferrière and La Novalèse, or indeed upon any part of the Mont Cenis road:" and again, p. 152, " It would be quite impossible now to find any old snow on the descent from the Mont Cenis in the month of October." A similar admission was made by M. Letronne on behalf of

the Mont Genève, and by M. Larauza on behalf of the M. Cenis. So it was suggested by the former, and approved by the other, that when the Carthaginians in October thought they had found snow of the previous season, it was in fact that which had fallen lately in September, and deceived them by exceeding in hardness that which had fallen quite recently. Mr. Ellis relies, p. 123, on the supposition that "in ancient times the climate of Europe must have been much severer than it is at present:" also upon Dr. Arnold's construction of the words of Polybius in regard to the snow-line in the Alps. Now, though I entertain the truest respect for Dr. Arnold, and a high admiration of his history of Hannibal's campaigns, yet in all that he has said concerning the track of the invading march, I find nothing which I can commend. On this point of the snow-line of Polybius, as on others, I quite differ from him. I believe the site of the old snow to have been precisely that which Dr. Arnold says it was not, a sunless ravine. I do not allow that the words of the history import perpetual snow, as above the line: moreover, if such had been the fact, we should have heard of snow in the ascent. If there was perpetual snow to the base of the mountain on the Piémont side, there could not be exemption from it on the Savoy side. But I have to deal with Mr. Ellis, not with Dr. Arnold.

Mr. Ellis's deduction on the subject is expressed thus: "Indeed we should be led to conclude, from what Polybius says, not only that the summits of the passes were continually covered with snow, but that the fields of snow reached half-way down the declivities, on both sides of the Alpine passes, towards the level country; so that not only patches of snow might be found at a considerable distance below the summits of the passes, but even the great snow-field itself may have extended to a distance of several thousand feet below the present line of perpetual snow." Such are the speculations of

Mr. Ellis. But his gully gains no permanent advantage from them: for these ideas are revoked in the next sentence, where Mr. Ellis finds it "necessary to suppose" that Polybius speaks, not of fields of snow, but rather "of isolated patches."

The drawing, which Mr. Ellis gives of his mountain and gully, does not include the summit: there is no horizon: and the point of obstruction is not noted. But, whether he supposes the armaiment to have reached the impracticable channel of snow by moving up from that point, or by retrograding first, and then keeping the horizontal line which is dotted in the drawing, he probably conceives that, after the failure, they retreated from the gully by the same way, through which they had sought it before they made their camp. On the site of the encampment he finds some difficulty. When he was interpreting the narrative, and came to the encampment which Hannibal made *περὶ τὴν ῥάχιν*, he gave some discussion, p. 60, on the word *ῥάχις*, saying;—"The account naturally leads us to look *immediately above* the broken path for an encampment for the Carthaginians, partly extending over a ridge-back." I presume that he looked for this on the mountain-side of the Cenise, and could not find it: for when he comes to fit the Cenise route to his 'conditions,' no such place above the broken path is alluded to. Two other places are now mentioned, p. 124, 5, as likely to have been the sites of the encampment. 1. "The fields through which the Cenise flows between La Ferrière and the commencement of the precipice:" but these Mr. Ellis thinks hardly of sufficient size for the whole army. 2. A ridge on the other side (the south side) of the Cenise, "extending from west to east, and originating a little below the plain of St. Nicholas." Speaking of the 'hollow between very lofty mountains, down which the descent is effected from the plain of St. Nicholas to the head of the valley of La Novalèse,' Mr. Ellis says, that it is "divided into two

“ minor parallel hollows by the ridge.” He adds, “ It seems probable that it is this ridge, which is alluded to by Polybius, under the name of the *ράχτις*: its crest or back, at its eastern extremity, is a nearly level tract of ground, raised on very high precipices above the valley of La Novalèse, and having on one side the deep gorge of the Cenise where the path was destroyed, and on the other a very steep gully, through which a rill of water falls down into the valley beneath.” As this is the site of Mr. Ellis’s encampment, made on the attempt at a circuit being frustrated, his description is rather defective, in its silence on the mode of getting to the ridge from the mountain on the other side of the torrent, and back again after the reparation of the path; in short, in not dealing, more or less, with the gorge and precipices above which the level for encampment was found.

After stating that the path was in one day made wide enough for horses and baggage-animals, Mr. Ellis gives us, p. 125, 6, some local information, which helps to the estimate of his theory. His report is thus:—“ They were immediately brought down from the encampment above, another encampment was made below on ground perfectly free from snow, and the animals were then left to find pasturage for themselves in the country round. This second encampment would be made near La Novalèse, immediately at the foot of the precipitous and broken descent: and in the broad fields at the head of this open valley, the animals would be let loose, and left to seek the fodder, of which they were so greatly in need. The upper and lower encampments would probably be less than two miles apart; and that near La Novalèse would be in sight of the one above.” He adds, in a note, this reasonable comment,—“ It should seem that fodder might have been brought up to the elephants from below. Nothing of the kind however is mentioned by Polybius.” He might have added, that it would have been brought up to them, if within a

mile or two there were broad pasture fields, with the horses grazing in sight below. This indeed might well be the case at Novalèse, which is 900 feet lower than Pré St. Didier in the valley of Aosta. But then it could not be so near to the snow-line as Mr. Ellis would desire. I differ from him both on the permanent snow-line, and the temporary snow-line of the occasion that we speak of. Perpetual snow did not belong to the level of the broken way: but there must have been a depth of new snow to prohibit the grazing which he imagines so near at hand.

The practical result of Mr. Ellis's disquisition is, that his precipice, rising from the Cenise and facing the south, had no unsunned hollow or gully for the snow to endure in. No advocate of Cottian Alps can meet this difficulty with facts. On the other hand, it will be seen, that our construction of Polybius concerning the old snow near La Tuile, and of Hannibal's attempt to pass along it, bears the plainest evidence of truth. The torrent of the Baltea, under the mauvais pas which belonged to the track of the Little St. Bernard, often exhibits through summer and autumn the phenomenon of the bridge of old snow fixed over the stream, from side to side of the narrow trough in which it runs; a long-continued hollow that never sees the sun. There are no facts better attested in the whole range of the controversy, than this of the snow bridge, and that of the old path along the precipice of the left bank. The witnesses are many and safe. If De Saussure, a man utterly impartial in the question, had stood alone, instead of being supported by a host of others, it would have been enough; and, if he had been a partisan of one of the theories, his evidence would still have been enough. As to the *πάχης*, I believe it will be found on the left hand before you come to the gorge, to which the broken path belonged, and which is entered soon after passing the village of La Tuile. In descending to La Tuile from the Little St. Bernard, you have, according to my memory, away on the left hand the river which

has come from the lake of that mountain, and on the right a stream from another part of the same mountain : these come together at La Tuile, and are joined by the Baltea, a torrent from the Ruitor glacier, being the chief stream of the three. It is about a mile or more above La Tuile that you cross the torrent from the lake ; and from thence, till you approach the gorge, the mountain sloping up on the left hand offers a large extent of ground practicable for encampment, till at last it acquires the height from which it gives a precipitous side to the torrent ; and, along this side was the path, till about 70 years ago. If the use of such a path was not a sure known fact, one might suppose that the obvious exposure to avalanches, obvious both in cause and effect, would deter from all use of it. I wish I could better describe the scene, which I point to as a mountain ridge or *ρῶχης* : but I was so ill when I passed it, that my powers of observation were very feeble. I cannot think it likely, that any great number of the troops proceeded into that narrow path at all, on the first arrival there. One would rather suppose that, on its failure being discovered, the few who had advanced turned back at once, and that the unsuccessful experiment below was made without delay ; I mean the attempt to proceed down the surface of snow which choked up the trough of the torrent.

The point of entry into the Plain.

I must again shortly allude to this subject, because it is brought forward in the 'Summary' system, which I had not arrived at, when I mentioned this point as one of three objections which were held to prohibit competition with the pass of Mr. Ellis. This is his Summary, in his own translation, p. 14—'THUS AT LENGTH, HAVING COMPLETED HIS MARCH FROM NEW CARTHAGE IN FIVE MONTHS, AND HIS PASSAGE OF THE ALPS IN FIFTEEN DAYS,

HE BOLDLY DESCENDED INTO THE PLAINS OF THE PO, AND THE COUNTRY OF THE INSUBRIANS.' Now where are the 'occurrences,' of which, according to the Treatise, these few words are to be regarded as 'a short statement or summary?' The succeeding narrative does not contain an idea which Mr. Ellis can pretend to call matter summed in it. Those words, which he puts in large letters, express one intelligible fact; and that fact is never recurred to in the history. The Insubres are not mentioned again. The facts which are told afterwards, are quite independent of that one fact, and come after it in time. These subsequent facts are, that Hannibal immediately encamped under the mountains: that he devoted himself to the re-establishment of the health and efficiency of the army: that, when this was completed, he offered friendship to the Taurini, a nation inhabiting the country in front of the mountain range: and that, on the rejection of his offer, he besieged their chief city, stormed it after three days, and put his enemies to the sword: after which he moved forward to meet Scipio on the Po. He is a bold man, who dares to say, that there is not here a continuous narrative. If we trust Polybius, we must accept the fact that, in entering the plain, he came among the Insubres.

Mr. Ellis, having the boldness that I speak of, tells a different story. He says, p. 72, "The Carthaginians "found the Taurini in their way, *as soon as* they issued "from among the mountains and began their march to "the Insubrian territory." The early mention of the Insubres instead of the Taurini does not surprise him, because he lays it down, p. 61, that a summary "merely "states the direction and end of a march, the details of "which are afterwards to be given." But, besides that no such details ever are given, the words are so plain and affirmative, that any advocate of a Taurine pass is called upon to grapple with them. M. Larauza renders

κατῆρε εἰς, 'se dirigea vers:—*marched for* instead of *came down into*. This false version, if it were right as to the Insubres, would apply also to the plain; importing that, when Hannibal cleared the Alps, he did not enter the plain, but began a march for the plain. Mr. Ellis does not in terms subscribe to this bad construing: but, to support his notions which I remarked upon before, calls in aid his doctrine of Summaries. Against such philosophers I stand on the plain testimony of the historian. I accept the statement that, having cleared the Alps, Hannibal entered the plain and the nation of Insubres: I am satisfied, that the plains he entered, and on which he encamped, and where he effected the restoration of his army to a competency for war, were under the domination of his powerful friends the Insubres. At what time this corner of the plain had become Insubrian, whether they were supreme over it from the time of their first invasion, or became so afterwards, I can no more tell, than I can tell the date at which it became Roman. I know no guide in ancient history. I believe, because Polybius tells us, that some tribe called Lai, Libui, or Lebecii, settled in the plain about the lower Doria at the great irruption of Gauls. I believe there is no further mention of such tribes in the events of history: nor do we learn anything of those plains as property, excepting through the narratives of Polybius and of Livy; both of which, reasonably construed, shew those plains to have been ruled by the Insubres. Polybius, by the words which are now in question, recognises that domination at the opening of the valley of Aosta: and Livy, as I have noticed before, confirms him by recognising the same people as bordering on the Taurini. His Taurini are gens Gallis proxima in one sentence, and (as I maintain) gens Insubribus proxima in the next. And I shall believe the Orco to have divided the territories of the combatants, till I hear good reason given against it.

Mr. Ellis admits, p. 60, that, from the statement in

c. 56, "it might be imagined, that Hannibal emerged at once from the Alps into the country of the Insubrians, *the modern Milanese.*" But he says, p. 63, that "this supposition would make him pass the Alps by the St. Gothard, or at least by the Simplon, both utterly improbable." But why are we reduced to this dilemma? Does Mr. Ellis rely on Livy's report that the Insubres founded Milan in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, or does he go by the Treaty of Vienna in 1815? One is as much to the purpose as the other, for shewing the extent of Insubrian power in the time of Hannibal. He urges gravely that "the circumstance (of the Taurini being at war with the Insubrians) would not be a sufficient cause to induce Hannibal, when he had once arrived in the Milanese, to go so far out of his way as Turin"—as if we were driven to maintain such an absurdity. It is Mr. Ellis who runs out of the course in saying, as on the authority of Polybius, that Hannibal must be brought into the modern Milanese. If he had crossed the Ticino, which he never did, he would have entered the 'modern Milanese.' But Polybius says nothing about the Milanese. He names the Insubres, whose dominion outlived that of all other Gaulish nations in Italy, and was never, as I conceive, bounded by the Ticino. Can it be that Mr. Ellis had in mind the broken bridge on that river, which we read of in the 66th chapter, as constituting the 'details' shadowed forth in the Summary of ch. 56? If so, why does he stop short of exhibiting them? It is said in the Introduction, that, in the translation of the narrative, which Mr. Ellis divides into seven parts, "the seventh, being from the foot of the Alps to the country of the Insubrians, will not *all* be given." If there were details to support the Summary, they would have been given as in other instances. Mr. Ellis gives a reason for omitting part of the 56th chapter and the whole of the 57th, 58th, and 59th: which is, that they 'do not bear on the passage of the Alps, but relate to the operations of

Roman armies, or contain general reflexions on history.' The details for explaining this last unhappy Summary are omitted for a different reason. There are none.

At last Mr. Ellis, mistrusting the Summary, says plainly, p. 61, that this passage relating to the Insu-
brians, large though the letters be, need not be taken as a Summary; and desires to rely upon other considerations. He then gives, p. 61, 2, 3, a series of propositions, for proving from Polybius, "that the country of the
" Taurini was the first part of the plains which Hannibal
" entered after he had crossed the Alps." "Wherever he
" emerged from the Alps, he descended into the plains,
" *κατῆρε τολμηρῶς* &c. That he should ever afterwards
" be close to the Alps is not likely. Yet in c. 60 he is
" spoken of as encamped *ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν παρώρειαν τῶν*
" *Ἀλπεων*, under the very slope of the Alps, at the very
" roots of the mountains. From this we conclude that
" the encampment was made *before* he descended into the
" plains; that it should, in fact, have been made when he
" first came out from the Alps, and previously to his
" entry into the Insubrian country. For it is said to
" have been made *μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολήν*, after the entry into
" Italy. This must mean the actual time when he reached
" the commencement of the plains. *Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*, their
" transactions commence with the Taurini, *οἱ τυγχάνουσι*
" *πρὸς τῇ παρωρείᾳ κατοικοῦντες*. This is necessarily
" identical with the *παρώρεια* beneath which Hannibal
" encamped: and this being at the point where Hannibal
" first emerged from the mountains, it may be concluded,
" that the Taurini occupied the plains into which he first
" entered after his passage of the Alps. Polybius employs
" *τυγχάνουσι* as if expressly to intimate that the Taurini
" lay in the way of Hannibal as he marched towards the
" country of the Insu-
brians."

Now, if I can pretend to comprehend all this, it means that Hannibal emerging from the Alps, only emerged to the *παρώρεια*; and never really emerged into

the plain, till he had restored the efficiency of his army and assaulted the town of the Taurini. Those who justly estimate the simplicity and propriety of Polybius as an historian, will, I think, continue to believe that, when he says ‘Hannibal having in 15 days accomplished the transcending of the Alps, came down into the plains and the nation of Insubres,’ he had no mental reservation about *παρώρεια*, as a neutral position between mountain and plain. They will believe also that, when he places the encampment *ὕπ’ αὐτὴν τὴν παρώρειαν*, and the Taurinian nation *πρὸς τῇ παρωρείᾳ*, he meant both to be in the plain, though not necessarily in the very same part of it. I went along the plain from Ivrea to Turin at the opening of the valley of Susa, and find no difficulty in conceiving an encampment at one end of that line, and a town nearer to the other end. But, if the historian had intended to make Hannibal walk directly out of Alps into Taurini, how easy it was for him to have said so, rather than leave it to be discovered by a savant after 2000 years through the medium of *τυγχάνουσι*! Let us, however, on reading p. 61 and 63, give full credit to Mr. Ellis as a zealous advocate of his Pass. While *τυγχάνουσι* ‘*expressly intimates*’ that the Taurini intervened before the march to the Insubres, *τολμηρῶς* also has been effective to the same purpose. The *boldness* of the descent into the Insubres in the 56th chapter, is ‘*perfectly explained*’ by the gallantry of the assault on (or, as Mr. Ellis expresses it, the nature of Hannibal’s dealings with) the Taurini in the 60th.

LIVY'S NARRATIVE OF THE PASSAGE.

Mr. Ellis, again following M. Larauza, observes, p. 133:—"Livy says at first with respect to the Island, "that the Allobroges live near it." Livy says 'incolunt:' which means that they live in it. *Mediis campis Insulæ nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allobroges &c.* We need not go far for the difference between colunt and incolunt: he has just said of the Volcæ, 'colunt circa utramque ripam Rhodani.' The context shews the Allobroges to occupy 'medios campos.' Prope means only, that the Allobroges were near to the point at which the march had arrived on the opposite shore of the Isère. Mr. Ellis rightly understands that Livy calls the inhabitants of the Island Allobroges; but he blames him for doing so. He conceives that, though in Livy's own time the Island belonged to the Allobroges, it had been otherwise in the days of Hannibal; but that since Hannibal's day they had absorbed in succession other tribes, to whom their name came to be applied. Dr. Ukert had disowned the Allobroges on rather a different ground: he says that they had latterly been driven northwards, and confined to the country north of Isère. There is no historical foundation for either hypothesis. Each is an invention for supporting a theory of the Carthaginian march.

Seeing how Mr. Ellis has impeached Polybius, whom he pledged himself to abide by, one cannot be surprised that he should administer reproof to Livy. After giving him a very bad character in the beginning of the chapter, he adverts, p. 134, to the passage, '*Sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum, quum jam Alpes peteret, non rectâ regione iter instituit, sed ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit: inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tetendit in Tricorios,*

haud usquam impeditâ viâ priusquam ad **Druentiam** flumen pervenit.' Mr. Ellis pronounces it "quite clear" that this route is inadmissible, and that Livy's account "is erroneous." It seems to me that Livy's interpreters, not himself, have made a mess of this matter: and, if there was time, I could exhibit a long and amusing list of all their contrivances. Livy writes consistently with his own theory. His turn to the left was at **Valence**. This would lead the march to **Augusta Tricastinorum** on the **Drome**, in the way to **Dea Vocontiorum** on the same river: and a march thence on to **Gap**, though not very precisely *per extremam oram*, which after all is a term of doubtful meaning, may satisfy those who do not expect from Livy the most rigid delineation of an irregular boundary, which he may not have known with exactness, and which could not well have a concomitant line of road.

In the passage we are considering, the words '*quum jam Alpes peteret*' are significant words. I would construe them, 'when he was now in march for the Alps.' They are commonly construed, 'when he was now standing with his back to the **Isère**, looking due south, and thinking of the Alps.' Mr. Ellis evidently apprehending this to be their meaning, declares that a turn to the left would take Hannibal up the **Isère** without touching the **Tricastini**. So, by way of making Livy agree with Polybius (that is, for making both agree with Mr. Ellis) he charges him with the blunder of making Hannibal turn into the **Tricastini** on leaving the **Island**, instead of having done so before on crossing the **Rhone**. This substitution of one thing for another is the same as was suggested in the **Oxford Dissertation**: only there the blunder is attributed to a transcriber; here to the historian himself. I differ from both. There is no blunder to be cured. Mr. Ellis settles the question thus:—"When Hannibal "had crossed the **Rhone**, then it was '*cum jam Alpes "peteret.*'" Let those words be transferred: they do not

fit very cleverly: the result is this:—‘*cum jàm Alpes peteret, mediterranea Galliæ petit.*’ You cannot transfer a single idea by itself, as having been misplaced by the carelessness of the author. You must unpack a series of propositions, and pack them up again in a new way, throwing some aside altogether. What is to become of Livy’s continuation of the march after turning into the Tricastini? How does Mr. Ellis propose to deal with ‘*inde tetendit &c.*’? If Livy forgot himself so far as to turn at the wrong time into the Tricastini, and from them into the Vocontii, I think he must go on to the Druentia at least, before he can pull up. But all things come easy to Mr. Ellis. While he performs these cruel mutilations on a series of propositions, which as they stand in the author are quite intelligible, he says:—“All the facts in the passage are true: but one of them is misplaced.” Livy has misplaced nothing. The expression ‘*cum jàm Alpes peteret*’ following the words ‘*sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum,*’ is well placed, and is according to his views of Hannibal’s movement: namely, that, on crossing the Rhone, he wished to avoid a conflict with the Roman army, and turned aside from his Alpine course: but that, after an interval, the incidents of which are related, he did now seek the Alps. Livy is consistent. If Mr. Ellis was satisfied with Polybius, and his own construction of him, why did he not let Livy alone? Why set about mending him, in order to get, p. 135, “a route by which the statement of both historians can be reconciled”? His motto should have been the common one, ‘*concilier Polybe et Tite-Live, voilà le problème—le but définitif de nos efforts*’! He swears allegiance to Polybius; and pronounces the other, p. 129, ‘careless; extravagant; glaringly incorrect; loving the marvellous; aiming to produce effect rather than ensure accuracy and truth.’ Nevertheless he strains every nerve to twist him, unworthy as he is, into a likeness of Polybius, whom he has already defaced.

The next comment upon Livy is not complimentary : and for this reason it is the most amusing and curious of all. Speaking of the march which preceded the encounter with the barbarians near the rock, Mr. Ellis observes, p. 138, that " Livy omits the two days of guidance mentioned by " Polybius." He really seems quite unconscious that he has cut out those two very days himself in fabricating his own reckoning of the march. Livy was not bound to account for two such days : and, whatever demerit there may be in a desertion of Polybius, there is a marked difference between him and Mr. Ellis. Mr. Ellis professes to abide by Polybius in all things. Livy does not profess to follow him at all.

The next comment is on the View. Mr. Ellis, with all his deference to Polybius, still wants Livy to help. So he mutilates them both. In fact, they do not agree : Polybius introduces the View, as it is called, on a clear day of rest : Livy introduces it on a marching day, saying that the soldiers were halted for it in promontorio quodam. Mr. Ellis, p. 140, admits that this, "*at first sight*," appears a direct contradiction between the two " authors." But he thinks that the apparent disagreement is reconciled, if you will suppose the view to have been had, not from the encampment on the plateau of the Little Mont Cenis, but near the road from thence to La Grande Croix. For such reconciling of differences, he represents both historians to mean what neither has said, namely, that the encampment was on the plateau for one night ; and at La Grande Croix the next : and that the view was obtained in marching from one to the other.

I know not which to admire most : the definition of the discordancy, or the way in which it is cured. I quote from the Treatise:—"The conclusion, which has been " drawn, that it was seen from the road, or close to the " road, between the plateau of the Little Mont Cenis and " La Grande Croix, reconciles this apparent disagree- " ment. For the descent from this pass into Italy is

“ considered to begin from La Grande Croix, all the ground above, though varying considerably in level, being included in the plateaux which form the summit of the Mont Cenis. Hannibal therefore, when on the promontory, or at La Grande Croix, would still be correctly spoken of by Polybius as being on the summit of the pass. Yet he might naturally be mentioned by another author as having begun his descent, when on his way from the plateau of the Little Mont Cenis to La Grande Croix.” All this serves only to divert the reader from the truth. It supposes that the two authors differ in their accounts of this view, by one saying that it occurred on the summit, the other on the descent: and that ‘descent’ need only mean a shifting of the encampment to the edge of the summit. This is unfounded as to both; as regards Livy, it is nothing short of misrepresentation. Livy’s march, during which the view took place, was no shifting from one part of a plateau to another, it was a day’s march continued through the chief horrors of the descent, comprehending the disasters of the broken way. Now see the truth. Both historians allow two days to the summit. One relates what is called the View on the second of those two days. The other tells it of a day following those two days. That is the difference between them: and nothing can prevent it from being a difference. As for the third story (Mr. Ellis’s own edition of facts) which pretends to agree with both, it is palpably opposed to both. It attributes to the last day of summit a movement of some miles: besides an *extra viam* for the View. The text of both histories requires that the time on the summit was a time of real rest—*αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ δύο ἡμέρας προσέμεινε· βουλόμενος μὲν ἀναπαῦσαι &c.*—*ἐπειρᾶτο συναθροίσας παρακαλεῖν &c.*—*τῇ δ’ ἐπαύριον &c.* Livy’s story is, if possible, still clearer on the unqualified rest from labour: for Polybius interrupts it by the soldiers assembling to listen to their general. No such incident breaks the

second day of Livy. 'Biduum in jugo stativa habita: fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus—signis primâ luce motis' &c. The march was slow; sluggishness and despair in every countenance: a halt was ordered: the general's address refreshed their courage: procedere inde agmen cœpit—the march was continued; and the calamities of it are strongly painted, before we read 'castra in jugo posita, ægerrimè ad id ipsum loco purgato.'

Such is Mr. Ellis's account of the discrepancy, and such the value of his reconciliation. In a subsequent paragraph, evidently conscious of infirmity, he bestows a slight animadversion on Livy, for not having done that, which he would without scruple have done himself, namely, thrown away one of the two days of summit which Polybius had given: and hereupon he draws this consolatory hypothesis:—"By these means he would have made his narrative of the events at the summit of the pass quite consistent in itself, and completely in accordance, though at first sight apparently at variance, with the account of the Greek historian"!

The spirit of conciliation now begins to droop. It will be remembered that Mr. Ellis condemned all rivals of the Cenis, on their failing in his two most prominent characteristics; the view, and the descent in less than three days. As to one of these, we have just seen the effort he makes to conciliate Livy to his theory. But he does not invite his aid on the other. Though struggling throughout for the semblance of a confirmation, he has not courage here to face the discordance; and Livy is overlooked in silence. He screwed Polybius down to 'less than three days' from summit to plain at the expense of contradicting himself as well as the historian: so, when Livy makes it a good seven, Mr. Ellis thinks it as well to let him alone; and does not bring on the subject. Livy writes:—"Quatriduum circa rupem consumptum, jumentis prope fame absumptis: nuda enim fere cacumina

sunt—inferiora valles et apricos quosdam colles habent—ibi iumenta in pabulum missa, et quies hominibus data triduo—inde ad planum descensum. Hoc modo in Italiani &c.’ After they have reached the plain, we read, ‘armare exercitum non poterat—in reficiendo maximè sentientem &c.—otium ex labore &c.’ Here we have, from the summit, certainly not less than four days plus three before the plain is entered by the army. Mr. Ellis found this too strong for him: and declined to mediate.

The last effort of conciliation, p. 146, is this:—“Nothing is related by Livy, as having occurred, after “the new road was completed and passed, during the “rest of the descent to the plains of Italy. Hannibal “there entered into the country of the Taurini; a fact “which Livy says was universally agreed upon.” Livy says no such thing. On the contrary, he is much surprised that it was not universally agreed upon. ‘Miror ambigi, quānam Alpes transierit.’ When Mr. Ellis says ‘universally agreed upon,’ I suppose he is translating ‘inter omnes constet.’ But those words, expressing the idea of a general assent, are applied to Hannibal’s march against the Taurini, not to his entering Italy by a Taurine pass. Livy does not impute that any agreed with him on Hannibal’s pass launching him at once into the Taurini. He almost says that nobody agreed with him. He says that Cœlius by one col, and the world in general by another, brought the march into the plain per Salassos, that is, through the valley of Aosta. Did Livy conceive that every one to whom he alludes supposed the Taurini to stand at the mouth of that valley? He had read Polybius. Did he suppose that Polybius, in naming the Insubres, meant the Taurini? There never was a less excusable error, than that which perverts the meaning of ‘id quum inter omnes constet.’

ON OBJECTIONS BROUGHT AGAINST THE MONT CENIS.

There is not much matter in this chapter. Mr. Ellis notices some observations, which were made by M. De Luc on the great difficulties which must have belonged to a Cenis route in the earlier times. The chief topic alluded to is the silence of the Itineraries concerning this pass; and that it is thought not to be mentioned by Strabo as a pass known to Polybius. But this whole subject is adjourned to Mr. Ellis's concluding chapter, where he discusses at large the knowledge which the ancients had of the Cenis and Little Mont Cenis. He also makes further allusion to the old snow, on which he again refers to Dr. Arnold.

There is one matter in the Oxford Dissertation, which Mr. Ellis resists; namely, the contrast there made between the fertility of the Isère valley and the sterility of the Arc valley. He replies, p. 156, that it is merely a question of statistics; and proceeds to compare the population, per square kilomètre, of the provinces in which the one lies, with the population, per square kilomètre, of the provinces in which the other lies. The valleys in the march over the Little St. Bernard, lie in Savoie, Haute Savoie, Tarentaise, Aoste. Those in the march over the Mont Cenis, lie in Savoie, Maurienne, Susa. I cannot think that his comparison is much to the purpose. The ratio between the number of inhabitants in a province and the number of acres, will be controlled by the proportion of barren mountain surface, which that province may contain. Mr. Ellis says that, of all the Sardinian provinces, that of Aosta is the most thinly populated. But why is that province so thinly populated? Because

it consists of High Alps more than any province that can be mentioned. Nevertheless there is down the centre of it a valley, fertile, and therefore populous; the valley of Aosta. This is not an unfavourable line for an army's march, only because the surrounding mountains, classed within the same province, are without provisions or inhabitants to want them. Mr. Ellis avoids a comparison of valleys, which give course to a march, and measures against one another the mountainous extents which do not concern it. The inquiry, whether a large army would on a given line find supplies in the productiveness of the country passed through, touches a simple question of ascertainable fact. I believe that the observation in the Oxford Dissertation is perfectly just. I certainly was quite astonished, last year, with the richness of the Isère valley from Montmélian to St. Maurice. Larauza, the most knowing advocate of the Mont Cenis, struggled to controvert the fact of that superior fertility, by citing a few words from De Saussure, which contain some hints of vegetation. Ukert admits the truth of the contrast; but urges, that the sterility of the Maurienne strengthens the probability that it was the course of Hannibal.

ANTIQUITY OF THE PASSES OF THE MONT CENIS, AND LITTLE MONT CENIS.

The business of Mr. Ellis's concluding chapter is to shew the antiquity of the pass of the Mont Cenis. He says, p. 159, "This way across the Alps seems always to have been known. For the last thousand years and upwards, it has, beyond all dispute, been in constant use." He then states the following facts.

"It is mentioned by name for the first time in the Continuation of the Chronicle of Tredegar, where it is said to have been crossed by Pepin in the year 755." Be it so: 755 was 973 years after Hannibal's invasion.

"A passage existed in the sixth century between the Maurienne and Susa: for when the Bishopric of Maurienne was re-erected by King Gontran of Burgundy (561—593), the recently acquired city of Susa and its territory were included in the new diocese. The Maurienne had previously been comprised in the diocese of Turin, and not in that of Embrun, Grenoble, or Tarentaise, a fact which seems also to show that there was a communication between the Maurienne and Italy." * This instance is as useful as the former to the subject dealt with: 561 is 779 years after the march.

* Although the Hannibal question would in no degree be controlled by the facts, that, in the last half of the 6th century, Susa came into the diocese of Maurienne, and that Maurienne had before been in the diocese of Turin, yet, as Mr. Ellis does think such facts to be important, and refers to Gregory of Tours and Baronii Annales, I wonder that he cites nothing to this effect from those writers. I say this, because presently he quotes largely from both, to shew the various spelling of the word

Mr. Ellis now goes further back, and says, "Yet it was not only in these times, but also in those of the Romans, that the pass of the Mont Cenis was known. To make this fact appear, it will be attempted to prove three things:

- "1. The pass of the Mont Cenis is alluded to by Ammianus Marcellinus, a writer of the fourth century.
- "2. The road over the Little Mont Cenis is laid down in the Peutingerian Table, and was therefore a Roman way.
- "3. The Mont Cenis was crossed by Julius Cæsar, when on his way to intercept the Helvetii in Transalpine Gaul."

I will make some comment on these three propounded facts: both as due to the critic who propounds them; and because the subjects have in themselves some interest. As to their value in this inquiry, if all or any of the three propositions had had a reasonable foundation, the last would be the only one, out of which any argument could be drawn, to bear upon it.

Ammianus Marcellinus.

Mr. Ellis says; "The pass of the Mont Cenis is alluded to by Ammianus Marcellinus, a writer of the fourth century. The passage is contained in the fifteenth book of his history. It runs thus;—

Maurienne. The passage which he cites from G. of Tours is headed 'Auctoritas quod ex antiquo Morinensis ecclesia Viennensi Metropoli subdita fuit'; and in it we read, 'Guntramnus rex legatos suos Moriennam direxit, qui ecclesiam inibi fabricarent, eamque perfectam episcopo Viennensi, ad cujus diœcesin pertinebat locus, sancto Isychio sacrare præcepit.' The passage cited from Baronii Annales (vol. xviii. An. 1120) also mentions Geneva Maurienna as one of six sees subject to Vienne. Nothing is cited about Susa or Turin.

‘In his Alpibus Cottiis, quarum initium à Segusione est oppido, præcelsum erigitur jugum, nulli ferè sine discrimine penetrabile. Est enim è Galliis venientibus pronâ humilitate devexum, pendentium saxorum altrinsecus visu terribile, præsertim verno tempore; cum liquente gelu, nivibusque solutis flatu calidiore ventorum, per diruptas utrinque angustias, et lacunas pruinarum congerie latebrosas, descendentes cunctantibus plantis homines et jumenta procidunt et carpenta; idque remedium ad arcendum exitium repertum est solum, quod pleraque vehicula vastis funibus illigata, pone cohibente virorum vel boum nisu valido, vix gressu reptante paullo tutius devolvuntur. Et hæc, ut diximus, anni verno contingunt. Hieme vero humus crustata frigoribus, et tanquam levigata, ideoque labilis, incessum præcipitantem impellit, et patulæ valles per spatia plana glacie perfidæ vorant nonnunquam transeuntes. Ob quæ locorum callidi, eminentes ligneos stilos per cautiora loca defigunt, ut eorum series viatorem ducat innoxium: qui si nivibus operi latuerint, montanis defluentibus rivis eversi, agrestibus præviis difficile pervaduntur. A summitate autem hujus Italici clivi, planities adusque stationem nomine Martis per septem extenditur millia: et hinc alia celsitudo erectior, ægreque superabilis, ad Matronæ porrigitur verticem, cujus vocabulum casus fœminæ nobilis dedit. Unde declive quidem iter, sed expeditius adusque castellum Virgantium patet.’

Out of these words Mr. Ellis professes to have arrived at the conclusion, that the author speaks of the pass of the Mont Cenis. Let us see how he contrives it. First, it is clear that Ammianus had in mind the well-known Military Way from Italy into Gaul by Turin, Susa, and Briançon, which must then have been in the official Itineraries for three centuries. Our present subject is concerned only with four of the intervals between

places, which are thus given in the Itinerary of Antoninus, in the route A Mediolano Arelate per Alpes Cottias, Edit. Wesseling, p. 341.

Taurinis—Fines	M.P. XVIII.	In another Iter in the
Segusione	M.P. XXXIII.	same Itinerary, (Milan
Ad Martis	M.P. XVI.	to Valence) p. 356, these
Brigantione	M.P. XVIII.	two first distances are
		XVI. and XXIII.

Ammianus begins with describing a very steep pitch of mountain, in the Cottian Alps that begin from Susa; a mountain which no one can surmount without danger. He portrays the risks which those incur, who descend it coming from the Gauls (i.e. 'into Italy')—He gives particulars of its state in spring, and of its state in winter. So far, he does not indicate the situation of the *præcelsum jugum*, further than that it is in the descent of the Cottian Alps from Gaul. At last he tells of something concerning the ascent above the jugum; and we read this:—"From the top of this declivity towards Italy, a level as far as the station Ad Martis extends for seven miles: and then another high ascent, more steep and hardly to be surmounted, stretches up to the summit of Matrona: from whence the road is open as far as the fortress Virgantia (Briançon); a steep descent indeed, but more quickly performed."

Now, if '*hujus Italici clivi*' refers to *præcelsum jugum*, we have from this latter passage the position of the fearful descent which has been described. The top of it, according to this writer, is seven miles below Ad Martis, Oulx; and therefore sixteen miles above Susa. It seems evident that the two expressions do mean the same thing, both from the word '*hujus*,' and from the word '*Italici*,' which has the same effect that '*è Galliis venientibus*' had in the beginning of the paragraph, when the jugum was described. '*Hujus*' alone is conclusive: it indicates something which has been already spoken of: and, when

we come to the words 'a summitate autem hujus Italici clivi,' the jugum is the only thing which has been spoken of: every incident, throughout the description, has been predicated of the præcelsum jugum. As to the length of the dangerous descent spoken of, the words of Ammianus do not guide us to it.

Such appear to be the obvious comments on the passage quoted by Mr. Ellis, in regard of geographical position. The author wished to paint in strong colours the perils of a descent from the main chain of Alps into Italy in the spring and winter seasons: and he spoke of a route through the great barrier, which was in his day better known than any other route. As to the part of that route which he has selected for his description, we know it only from the last few lines, in which he names other parts that were above it.

Mr. Ellis, in favour of the early use of his favoured track, declares, p. 161, 2, that præcelsum jugum represents the Mont Cenis. He does not allow that 'summitas hujus Italici clivi' is the summitas of præcelsum jugum; nor that hic Italicus clivus is the same thing as præcelsum jugum. But, though different things, he says that Ammianus gives them the same termini. Mr. Ellis makes Italicus clivus to be a part of the Genève road, beginning about two miles above Exilles and one below Salbertrand, and ending at Susa: and he makes præcelsum jugum to be 'a mountain mass,' bordering one side of this road through that whole distance. And further he explains this mountain mass to be of a depth which reaches to and includes the Cenis; so that Ammianus, describing præcelsum jugum, describes the descent from the Cenis. This is rather strong, considering that from Salbertrand to the summit of the Cenis must be 12 or 13 English miles across country as the crow flies. Ammianus may possibly have known the mountains to the left on the descent from Salbertrand to have a great depth westward and northward. But there is nothing in his statement

which shews his thoughts to have radiated in any direction but that of *Matronæ vertex* and *Virgantia*: and, if they had, why to the *Cenis*? Why not as well to the *Col de la Roue*, which, either for man or crow, is nearer to *Salbertrand* than the *Cenis*? Mr. Ellis, however, penetrates the thoughts of the author: he recognises, in his description, the well-known avalanches and precipices, which belong to the descent from *La Grande Croix* to *La Ferrière*. Now I daresay that casualties, such as are described, were naturally incident to that place, as to many places in the Alps. But I would ask, why should the author close a description of the horrors of the *Cenis*, by tacking on to it particulars of the track between *Exilles* and *Briançon*, which belongs to another Way leading to a different pass of Alps? It would have been more natural, (to use a favourite expression of Mr. Ellis) to introduce the summit of the *Cenis* itself and the descent to *Lanslebourg*. I wonder that he did not point this out as a peculiarity in the style of the author. He does not even advert to the difficulty. Also he attempts no explanation of the word '*hujus*.' There is another word also worthy of his attention, the word '*erectior*.' *Præcelsum jugum* is the only steep or lofty thing which has been mentioned, when *Ammianus* comes to speak of '*summitas hujus clivi*,' adding that above the *summitas* is an extent of *planities*, and, above that, *alia celsitudo erectior ad Matronæ verticem*. *Erectior* can only mean '*steeper than præcelsum jugum*.' No other object can be suggested for the comparison: and it is quite natural and intelligible, that the *celsitudo ad Matronæ verticem* should be pronounced steeper than an ascent which had preceded it in the same line. This then must be the ascent from *Exilles*; and can no more be the *Cenis*, than the *Col de Sestrières* or the *Monte Viso*.

Though *Ammianus* gives no hint of the extent of the *jugum*; no hint that it extended to *Susa*; no hint that he speaks of the base of a mountain, Mr. Ellis prolongs

his mountain mass, jugum, to Susa, and pronounces unscrupulously, p. 163, "These were the limits of the Italian " base of the 'præcelsum jugum,' *across* which lay the " passage of which *we* are now *in search*." Having invented this problem, and prescribed a search for a thing which has no existence in the paragraph he is interpreting, namely a passage *across* a jugum or mountain-mass on the roadside, he proceeds, as he is wont, to nominate candidates for fulfilling the task of *crossing* it; or, as he phrases it, for being used as the line of communication between the valley of the Doria minor and the valley of the Arc: as if Ammianus was speculating on such lines, or had given any hint of the Arc as a terminus when he wrote the paragraph in question. Mr. Ellis obliges us by promptly naming three candidates, and as promptly dismissing two of them. He names three paths or ways: the Mont Cenis, the Col de Clairée, and the Col d'Ambin: and, after observing that the two latter are now mere mountain tracks, and their names hardly known, decides that, "the Mont Cenis is the only one of " the three that can possibly be called a pass." In this process Mr. Ellis brackets the Great and Little Mont Cenis as one pass: he might rather have bracketed the latter with the Col de Clairée and the Col d'Ambin, both for proximity, and because these three (as I believe) bring you down together to the Arc at Bramante. Satisfied with such identification, Mr. Ellis further fortifies his case, by urging that the descent from La Grande Croix offers all the requisites of Ammianus—prona humilitas—pendentia saxa—nives solutæ—and calidior flatus. Having, in addition to this, quoted largely from two French writers on the tremendous character of the old Cenis descent, he comes, p. 165, complacently to this conclusion:—"It may, therefore, be fairly supposed, that " the Mont Cenis was, in fact, the pass between Gaul and " Italy, of which Ammianus speaks in this place." Thus does Mr. Ellis find the object of his search, never having

paused to consider whether or not there was anything to be searched for; never discerning that the only pass to which the author makes any allusion is that of the Genève.

In this discussion, the author of the Treatise is consistent with himself. As he has so often interpreted Polybius by contradicting him, one need not be surprised at his treating Ammianus Marcellinus in the same way. To prepare us for this, he had complained, p. 161, 2, that this writer is not clear; that he did not comprehend the accounts from which he compiled his description; and that he has put his incidents together carelessly. On these grounds, he professes not to care whether Ammianus supposed the 'summitas' to be the 'summitas of the præcelsum jugum' or not. It is enough, that Mr. Ellis declares it was not. And he gives two reasons for this—

1. "The summitas is not the crest of a pass." Let me ask, who ever thought that it was? It could not be: for the author announces that the crest of the pass is reached by a further ascent, after the intervention of a planities.
2. "The road from this point (i.e. above Exilles) to Susa " would not answer to the description of the descent from " the jugum." Nobody says that it does: for no one but Mr. Ellis himself can think that the jugum did reach to Susa. Ammianus says nothing of the kind. Mr. Ellis misrepresents the author in making him describe the jugum as lasting to Susa. He does not describe it even down to Exilles. He states no scope of it. There might be every incident of danger in a mountain descent of only one mile.

Ammianus, no great authority, may in this instance be inaccurate in some of his description: but his meaning is perfectly clear, and could not be perverted by common sense unless clouded by theory. All that he says upon Alps is in two pages: and Mr. Ellis has used him hardly in perverting the most reasonable passages. As Hannibal is Mr. Ellis's theme, for which he craves the

assistance of Ammianus, I will supply the rest of this writer's speculations upon Alps. After the statement which we have seen quoted, he alludes to the tomb of Cottius under the walls of Susa. Then we read:—*Et licet hæc, quam diximus viam, media sit et compendiaria, magisque celebris*, tamen etiam aliæ multo antea temporibus sunt constructæ diversis. Primam Thebæus Hercules prope maritimas composuit Alpes. Deinde emensis postea sæculis multis, hac ex causâ sunt Alpes excogitatæ Pœninæ. The cause told is shortly this: that Hannibal, having (as Livy had written) gone through the Tricastini and Vocontii to the Tricorii, then made a new Way; and, after destroying rocks of immense height with fire and vinegar, seized upon Etruria by crossing the whirlpools of the Druentia. Hence the Pœnine Alps!!

The Table or Chart of Peutinger.

Mr. Ellis says, "The road over the Little Mont Cenis "is laid down in the Peutingerian Table."* This propo-

* These Tables are supposed to have been made A.D. 393, at Constantinople, by order of the Emperor Theodosius, and to have accompanied him when he crossed the Alps to oppose Eugenius, and when he came after his successes to Milan. On the decay of the Empire, they fell with other spoils into the hands of barbarians, and were carried into Germany: they are supposed to be alluded to by Jornandes, Bishop of Ravenna, who flourished about A.D. 552.

Their known history is this,—in 1459, Conrad Celtes was employed by the Emperor Maximilian to travel in search of ancient manuscripts and curiosities: he found this document in a library at Spiers: instead of carrying it to his patron, he gave it to his friend Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg, and confirmed the gift by his will. Peutinger always intended to have these tables engraved and published; but he died in 1547, not having carried his intention into effect. He had a small portion of them copied; and the copy was discovered in 1587

sition has nothing whatever to warrant or excuse it; and is not much mended by the author's saying, after an interval of eight pages on a wholly different subject, that the road is laid down incorrectly. It is not laid down at all. If a blundering map-maker, intending to delineate a track over the Simplon to the Rhone, should in drunkenness or sleepiness have drawn it over the St. Gothard to the Reuss, any critic, friend or foe, might point out the error: but let him not say that the road over the Simplon is *laid down* in that man's map. The case before us is fully as strong: there is not the slightest evidence, direct or indirect, internal or external, that the author ever thought of the Cenis at all.

by Marc Velser, a friend of the Peutinger family, who published it at Venice in 1591: in about seven years after that, Velser succeeded in finding the original parchments; and he had them engraved in copperplate on a reduced scale, and published at Antwerp. Towards the end of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth, there were fresh editions by different persons; but all derived from that of Velser without any fresh inspection of the original document; the last being that of Nicholas Bergier in 1736.

In the meantime the Tables themselves were beginning to move from their obscurity; about 1714 Wolfgang Sulzer, probing into the dusty recesses of the Peutinger library, discovered them, and suggested to one Küz, a bookseller of Augsburg, that he might endeavour to purchase them. The Peutinger who then owned them, allowed Küz to have them at no extravagant price: and on the death of Küz, his family were willing to sell this curious relic, which many persons of distinction were desirous to possess. Prince Eugene became the purchaser in 1720; and in 1738 it went, with other literary treasures that had belonged to that celebrated man, into the Imperial library of Charles the Sixth, and it is at Vienna at this day. In 1741 it underwent a scientific reparation: accurate engravings were made by Solomon Kleiner, of the size of the original tables, and published in 1753 by Francis Christopher de Scheyb.

In this Chart, there is marked distinctly a chain of mountains representing the main barrier of Piémontese Alps. Three tracks are drawn over it. To one are appended the words 'In summo Pennino:' to another 'in Alpe Graiâ:' to another 'in Alpe Cottiâ.' He who drew these lines was acquainted with the routes over the Great St. Bernard, the Little St. Bernard, and the Mont Genève, and intended to record them. To the latter pass there is drawn from Turin one line, and only one; going through the recognised stations. So far it accords with the Roman Itineraries, documents of earlier date. The difference is on the Transalpine side. They record one route onward beyond the Genève, being the great military way, which for a long distance attends the course of the Durance; eventually crosses it, and goes on to the Rhone at Arles. They also exhibit, as branching from this route at Gap, a track leading to Luc, Die &c., and coming upon the Rhone at Valence. The curious document which we call Peutinger's Table or Chart, sometimes called the Theodosian Table, exhibits, in addition to the road from the Genève down the Durance, two other lines of road for reaching the Rhone: and, as no road goes forward from the pass without first descending to Briançon which is immediately under it, we must apprehend the track of the Chart as being single to that ancient town. We then perceive three lines: one the same as in the Itineraries, tending south-west to Embrun, Sisteron, and Arles: one to the north-west, necessarily understood as the way through Monestier, Bourg d'Oysans, Vizille, and Grenoble, to Vienne: and an intermediate one which can only be by Val Louise, Entraigues, and Val Godemar to the Drac, and afterwards by Luc &c. to Valence.*

I must here remark, that Mr. Ellis, p. 167, 8, entitles

* I do not at all believe that there was such a road to be recorded. But the author must have heard that the line had on some occasion been pursued.

the three routes thus:—the Turin and Arles road: the Turin and Valence road: the Turin and Vienne road. These denominations tend to confusion, seeing that the separation begins only in the Transalpine; that is to say, after crossing the Genèvre. It is misleading also, to speak of ‘three roads across the Alps proceeding from Turin,’ although it is added, that the three are ‘coincident for a certain distance.’ Only one proceeds from Turin: and only one crosses the main barrier of the Alps. I would call the two, which appear only in the chart, the middle road leading to the Rhone at Valence, and the more northerly road leading to the Rhone at Vienne. This Valence route is manifestly defective in stations and distances. The Vienne route (exhibiting 85 miles), is pretty well furnished in these respects: and this is the route, which Mr. Ellis, with a surprising boldness of assertion, states to be laid down in this chart as the road over the Little Mont Cenis. Let us try to find out, how he persuades himself to state such a thing as fact.

He says, p. 168, that the Turin and Arles road is laid down correctly, by Susa, the Genèvre, Briançon, Embrun &c.: that the Turin and Valence road is represented erroneously as branching off from it *on* the Mont Genèvre: and that the Turin and Vienne road is laid down erroneously, as striking off from that middle road *close to the summit* of the Mont Genèvre. I can hardly suppose that Mr. Ellis would really lay any stress on a trifling inaccuracy, such as he imputes to the delineations of this parchment: and indeed I do not perceive it excepting in his own copy. The author cannot have intended those two roads to avoid Briançon, and to descend in another direction from the Genèvre. There never was such a descent. Mr. Ellis well knows the principle of compression on which this road-map is made; that it tends to make all tracks nearly parallel, even when they ought rather to be at right angles one to another; and

that the artist was throughout obliged to give small twists by angles or curves to a line, not only for keeping it distinct from other lines, but that he might have room to write the names of stations with figures to tell the distances. However, Mr. Ellis is now impeaching the middle road. We shall soon see how he relies on it as evidence.

The next reproof which the middle, or Valence road receives is, that it should not have struck off from the Arles road on Mont Genève, but have waited, to do so from Gap (Vapincum). Mr. Ellis grounds a reasoning upon the total of distances, expressed in the Chart, to Luc. But he must have seen, that stations and distances are wanting: and that the three distances, which are expressed, cannot be accepted as the basis of argument. He suggests indeed that, as the Chart does not notice the branch from Gap, which in the Itinerary leads to Valence, the new line, as far as Luc, may be considered a mistake: and that the Chart should be construed, as if it accorded, so far as Luc, with the Itinerary. He says, p. 168, 9, "It thus appears that " the Turin and Valence road of the Peutingerian Table " left the Turin and Arles road at Gap, and not at the " summit of the Mont Genève." I think this is hardly warranted. The framer of the Chart has certainly omitted to draw a line from Gap to Luc, being a line which already existed. And if, in the new track which he draws from Briançon to Luc, there had been no names nor figures at all, that suggestion of Mr. Ellis might be listened to. But the two stations which appear (in Mr. Ellis's copy Gerainas XIII., Geminas XIII.), ought to have some meaning: and they certainly indicate a line differing from the known military way through Gap. A man, ignorant of the natural impediments, might mark a route direct to Val Godemar and down the Severaisse to the Drac: and the constructor of this Chart seems to have

had imperfect information about such a route, and to give all he had, omitting places and distances which he could not ascertain.

Mr. Ellis says in a note, "The Peutingerian stations between Gap and Luc should probably both be read *Geminæ*." This shews that he is aware that they *are* both '*Geminæ*' in the corrected edition, and that he has printed from the earlier and less correct copy. As to probability, one may infer from the corrected edition, that the word *Geminæ* is repeated in the original, though probably by a mistake of the author: and the first editor may have altered one of the words on his own conjecture. But how can Mr. Ellis call these two places '*Peutingerian stations between Gap and Luc*.' If he strikes out, as mere error, the track drawn in the Chart, and presumes that the Itinerary line to Luc was intended, he cannot, without some suggestion of probability, thrust in those places between Gap and Luc; but must abolish them also. One of the Itineraries expresses five stations between Gap and Luc: quite enough, without *Geminæ* and *Gerainæ*.

Mr. Ellis, having so unfavourable an opinion on the merits of the route to Valence as portrayed in Peutinger's Chart, might well have rejected it altogether, as unworthy to be the basis of an argument: for he both condemns the track itself as incredible, and pronounces the very short distance of 46 miles (*Gerainas* 14, *Geminas* 14, *Luc* 18) as proving it not to be what it pretends. Why is it not repudiated to all intents and purposes? Because, with all its infirmities, it is to help Mr. Ellis to the Little Mont Cenis! This very track, which has as yet met with so little respect, is to send an offshoot from Susa into the valley of the Arc! Now see how it is managed. Mr. Ellis, after so demolishing this Peutingerian track, tries to find out the cause, which can have led the artist to describe such a mere imaginary thing, when his mind was only informed with a different thing.

And he discovers, p. 169, that he must have confounded 'Alpis Cottia,' which is but the Mont Genève, with 'Alpes Cottiae,' a name "which, when applied to mountains, might have been extended to Gap, and even "beyond."

The first effect of this is, to get rid of Briançon as the terminus à quo: and to substitute this less definite instruction;—that the Turin and Valence road separated itself from the Turin and Arles road *somewhere* in the Cottian Alps; and that the Turin and Vienne road separated itself from the Turin and Valence road *somewhere* in the Cottian Alps. Mr. Ellis says; "It was "from the Turin and Valence road that the Turin and "Vienne road struck off. But at what point did it strike "off? All that we can conclude, is that this point was "*somewhere* in the Cottian Alps." Then, being an impartial judge, and unwilling to decide without fair competition and evidence of right, he tries to ascertain all points in Cottian Alps from which a road to Vienne could strike off: that it may then be seen, whether any one will arrive at that place in a distance of 85 miles from such point of striking off, and so be identified as the track *laid down* by the Chart!

The enlarged term 'Cottian Alps' opens competition on a broad scale, rather reminding one of the mountain base from Salbertrand to Susa in the other proof of antiquity. Cottian Alps may embrace mountains in every direction where the control and influence of Cottius was to be felt: and for many such mountains there will be a point at which a road strikes off to cross it. Mr. Ellis professes to admit the claim of all mountain passes, which have the necessary qualification of being 'Cottian Alps:' and he recognises four such lines as competent candidates. The mountains interested in those lines are, as laid down by him, p. 169, Croix Haute,* whose line is

* I know nothing of this line, excepting that there was no Roman road through it.

to strike off at a place called Aspres, N.W. of Gap : one not named (perhaps there is no mountain), whose line starts from Gap : Lautaret, whose line starts from Briançon : and Little Cenis, whose line starts from Susa.

Let us suppose now that these four are the only qualified candidates, real Cottian. We look to see which wins ; which gets to Vienne in 85 miles or thereabouts. Alas ! Mr. Ellis finds, on scrutiny, that not one can come right. On looking to measurement, he finds that every one of them exceeds the stipulated distance : Haute Croix, he says, p. 169, 170, makes the least excess. His own Italian candidate, of course, though he does not mention it, makes the greatest. He thus announces the failure of the scheme.—“ The Peutingerian Table gives 85 Roman miles as the distance to Vienne from the point where “ the ‘ Turin and Vienne road ’ falls into the ‘ Turin and “ Valence road.’ But by the nearest of the four roads “ mentioned, the route of the Croix Haute, the distance “ to Vienne from Aspres is more than 120 Roman miles. “ The Peutingerian Table is, therefore, doubly erroneous “ with respect to the Turin and Vienne road : that road “ does not branch off from the Turin and Valence road “ at the place assigned, nor does it reach Vienne at a “ distance of 85 miles from the point where it strikes off.”

The thing proposed to be done is thus declared impossible ; and it may be thought that, as no candidate can win, there is an end of the match. Observe this also : the object originally was, to find a track of 85 miles, with Briançon to start from and Vienne to arrive at. But Mr. Ellis, as steward of the race, threw open the terminus à quo, and various starting points were made admissible. Now, however, if the distance itself ceases to be a criterion, nothing remains but the terminus ad quem, which alone offers no problem. Mr. Ellis is not daunted by such considerations. If one item in a definition is destroyed, he can make you another. He elects to abide by the 85 miles, right or wrong ; to throw aside Vienne

as the winning post, and find new ones. This is startling. How can we define a route to Vienne and the length of it, without Vienne? Mr. Ellis has a resource for all difficulties: he applies a principle, and publishes, p. 170, new terms of competition in these words:—"The Turin and Vienne road, as it cannot reach Vienne after a course of 85 miles from the point where it leaves the Turin and Valence road, should thus, it may be expected, fall, at the termination of that length of way, into a road on the Table leading to Vienne. But this road, into which it falls, must be the Ivrea and Vienne road: [i.e. the road from the Little St. Bernard down the Isère and by Chambéry &c.] for there is no other. The question, therefore, which has now to be determined, is this: which of the four roads falls, at a distance of about 85 Roman miles from the point where it leaves the Turin and Valence road, into the Ivrea and Vienne road." This road is not proposed to the candidates as a way of getting to Vienne: they are only to run into it and stop. This is about as rational, as if a man at Brompton, having a match to run to Edgware, should say, "I shall run into the Edgware road: it's all the same." And mark: the candidates are not to run to any one point in this Vienne road: they are to hit different points:—a steeple-chase, where each man has his own steeple, and his own starting post. Little Cenis is ordered to run to Maltaverne, a place about 4 miles below the junction of the Arc and Isère: the other three are told to run to St. Genix, (Augusta Allobrogum—Aouste.)

The performances are now supposed to be executed and measured. Mr. Ellis, in his capacity of umpire, reports the result. Little Cenis, starting from Susa, reaches Maltaverne in $89\frac{1}{2}$ miles. When there, he is 80 miles short of Vienne. The other three make for St. Genix: Lautaret reaches it in 115 miles; the other two in 105 miles. When there, they are 36 miles short

of Vienne. Hereupon Mr. Ellis, p. 171, pronounces:—"The route of the Little Mont Cenis seems thus to be "the road of which we are in search." A most unrighteous decision! It was bad enough to open the matter by annulling the prescribed point to start from. But, when candidates had been named and were ready, to shift the winning post into the bargain, must surely be against all rule: and they are not bound by it. Any lover of fair play, who looks at Mr. Ellis's plan of the course, as printed in his own book, will say, first that Little Cenis was not entitled to start at all; and, as a matter of fact, that he came in last instead of first. The road '*of which we are in search,*' is a road to Vienne. If Little Cenis had run on to Vienne, he would not have done it under 169 miles. Haute Croix and the anonymous would have done it, *according to Mr. Ellis himself*, in 141 miles, and Lautaret in 151 miles. The plain truth, setting aside the prodigious absurdities with which this Cottian theory doctors both ends of a visible line, is this:—that the Lautaret route, through Monestier, Bourg d'Oysans, and Grenoble, to Vienne, is clear to all who ever cared to examine the Chart of Peutinger: and that the length of it between its plain unmistakable termini, though exceeding the figures of him who inscribed the parchment, is not such as can leave the track itself subject to the smallest doubt.

In order to work his marvellous problem, Mr. Ellis has, among other things, taken upon himself to invent a road that was never heard of, and to shirk the very road he was professing to explain. He ordained that, not only the Lautaret road, but his Croix-haute road, and his road from Gap, should proceed by Grenoble, and end by falling into a distinct iter at St. Genix; because that iter led to Vienne. But there was no such road that fell into that iter. There is no trace in ancient writings of a road from Grenoble to St. Genix: none. And, if there had been, why take that round-about way, when there

was an ancient road and a much shorter one from Grenoble to Vienne ;—the very road which Mr. Ellis, by his silence on it, would seem never to have heard of. I am satisfied that, in Roman times, the way from Grenoble to Vienne was by Moirans, and certainly not by St. Genix. This latter track, which there was not, is exhibited in his map : the other, which there was, is omitted from it.

I have endeavoured to scrutinise fairly the merits of this competition of roads, as portrayed by Mr. Ellis, for representing a line which we can all see with our eyes in this Chart or Table of Peutinger. The conditions laid down for interpreting it, and which the Little Mont Cenis has so faithfully accomplished, surpass, both in their conception and fulfilment, even the conditions which the Treatise has deduced from Polybius, and give a worthy climax to the series. As Mr. Ellis has given, p. 172, in clear legible form, an Itinerary from Susa to Maltaverne, which he says is *laid down* in the Chart, I will exhibit, in legible form, a route between those termini which that Chart visibly prescribes to the understandings of ordinary men. I will enter, with a little explanation, the modern names, into which Mr. Ellis construes the stations, and those into which they were construed by the honest and laborious D'Anville.

*Stations in the Chart of Peutinger, with interpretations
by Mr. Ellis, who measures from Susa over the Little
Mont Cenis. Treatise, p. 160, 172.*

<i>miles.</i>	<i>Sites and explanations of Mr. Ellis.</i>	
‡ Stabatione.	La Ferrière.	This place is in the old ascent to the Mont Cenis, and is fixed upon by Mr. E. because, if you should go that way, you would naturally choose it for a halting-place.
‡ Durotinco.	Grangesde Dervieux.	Mr. E. says that there is such a place on the plateau of the L. Mont Cenis: and he finds in the name some vestige of Durotincum. dur is water—tin is a source—and cum is a valley—pure Celtic—also vieux seems to indicate the antiquity.
‡ Mellosedo. in improved edition Mello- secto.	Bramans.	On the Arc. Here you turn to the ascent of the L. Mont Cenis. Mellosedum, Celtic—Maol, bare: Lon, a meadow: Sead, a seat—An open tract. Bra-mans=Prati mansio.
Catorissium.	Villarodin.	A village on the Arc above Modane. Catorissium the genitive of Catorisses—Caturiges. Mr. Ellis tells us that Ad deam, which is written under the word Catorissium, and over the word Bocatoriorum which is in another line, "probably belongs to Bocatoriorum." The truth of this is so obvious that it need not have been alluded to. It is alluded to, in order to give a bit of etymology for contradicting it.

		"The name of the station Cato-rissium may possibly, however, have been, in full, Dea Cato-rissium. The word Dea is probably the Celtic <i>Teagh</i>, 'a house.'"
12½ Culabone.	Orelle.	A village on the Arc above St. Michel. The Gaelic Culaobh, is the back part of anything—and ora is extremity: so this place was probably the last village of the Caturiges. It is curious that Mr. E. who sees Culabo to be 3 stages from Vienne, and knows that Cularo was the ancient name of Grenoble (Gratianopolis), does not here think it necessary to controvert Grenoble.
14½ Morginno.	St. Jeande Maurienne.	This known place might, by similarity of spelling represent the Morginum of the Chart, if there was no particular reason against it. Mr. E. shews by an extract from Gregory of Tours, that that writer spells Maurienne in various ways—Morina—Morienna—Morigenna—Maurienna—Maurigenna—all in three consecutive sentences. He does not allude to Moirans, the Morginum of D'Anville.
14½ Turecionico. in improved edition, Ture- cionno.	La Chapelle.	A village on the Arc below La Chambre. Mr. E. gives no reason beyond this, that Turecionicum falls at La Chapelle; which, I suppose, means that La Chapelle is 14 R. miles from St. Jean de Maurienne.
16½ Mantala.	Maltaverne.	

Turecionicum is the last place in the Chart, that is entered among Mr. Ellis's stations: and, as we have seen, Vienne is not among them. But he adds to the list Mantala; a place not in the Chart, but which occurs in the R. Itinerary between Conflans and Chambéry, 16 miles from each: for the site of this he suggests Maltaverne, a village south of Isère, nearly opposite to St. Pierre d'Albigny on the north side. I believe St. Pierre to be Mantala—but this is quite unimportant for the present discussion.

Stations, with sites suggested by D'Anville, in the route traced in Peutinger's Chart from Briançon to Vienne.

<i>R. miles.</i>			
8	Stabatione.	Monestier.	This place is at about 8 miles distance from Briançon.
7	Durotinco.	Villard d'Arènes.	You arrive at this place after crossing the Col du Lautaret. The distance is rather XII than VII miles, which may have been written by mistake.
10	Melloredo. In corrected edition Mello- secto.		Mizouin, on the Romanche.
5	Catorissium.		Bourg d'Oysans.
12	Culabone.	Grenoble.	As the ancient name of Grenoble (Gratianopolis) was Cularo (a fact recognised by Mr. Ellis), no one has ever doubted that Culabo here means Cularo—Cularo in finibus Allobrogum, from which Plancus dates a letter to Cicero. D'Anville supposes that a station is omitted here.

14	Morginno.		Moirans. This place is in the right direction from Grenoble to Vienne, and the distance is about the same which the Chart notifies.
14	Turecionico. in corrected edition Ture- cionno.	Ornacieux.	D'Anville suggests this place, as being about half way from Moirans to Vienne. But he says that in fact it is 19 from one and 20 from the other.
15	Vigenna.	Vienne.	

D'Anville, seeing in this Chart two new roads from Briançon, one to Luc, carried north of the known line down the Durance, and another, above that, to Vienne, apprehended, as any man must do, that the former was intended to run westward to the Val Godemar and down the Severaisse to the Drac, and that the latter is the now well-known line by Monestier, Bourg d'Oysans and Grenoble. It cannot be known for what purpose this queer document was made: whether it was only an effort of the ingenuity of a philosopher, or a thing framed for the use of a general on a campaign. The fabricator has left one of his new lines manifestly deficient in places and distances. One need not therefore be surprised, if, as D'Anville supposes, there is a station or two wanting in the other, which would account for the sum of the distances between the extremities being below the truth. As to stations, it is not necessary that any modern place should be on the site of an ancient one, or that any ancient place should have been on the site of a modern one. D'Anville, seeing the track obviously intended, only informs us of places, which seem to have about the requisite distances from one another. None can be peremptorily asserted, but Cularo; and perhaps Moirans.

Cæsar's March through the Alps.

Mr. Ellis says; "The Mont Cenis was crossed by Julius Cæsar, when on his way to intercept the Helvetii in Transalpine Gaul." This I conceive to be a mistake. We can only reason on Cæsar's route from the few words in which he himself relates it in the first book of the Commentaries.—'Ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit: duasque ibi legiones conscribit; et tres, quæ circa Aquileiam hiemabant, ex hibernis educit; et, qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrones, et Garoceli, et Caturiges, locis superioribus occupatis, itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his præliis pulsus, ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciæ extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciæ die septimo pervenit: inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusianos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extra provinciam trans Rhodanum primi.'

Mr. Ellis recognises the Centrones as occupiers of the Tarentaise: but he places the Caturiges in the Upper Maurienne, and the Garoceli in the Lower Maurienne: and, assuming that Ocelum was between Susa and Turin, draws the conclusion, that Cæsar's route was through Turin to Susa, and over the Cenis. Much objection must be overcome, before that conclusion can be accepted.

The position of the Caturiges is a matter on which argument may be made from the occasional mention of the name in ancient writings. There may have been Caturiges in more places than one. Strabo in one of his enumerations names Caturiges as lying above the Salassi, their name occurring between Centrones and Veragri (Great St. Bernard). In the list inscribed on the Arch of Susa, Caturiges appear thus among the civitates:—Segusinorum. Belacorum. Caturigum. Medullorum.

Tebaviorum. I believe that few names in this list are to be found anywhere else. In Pliny's list from **Tropæum Alpium** (N. H. lib. iii. 20,) **Caturiges** appear between **Uceni** and **Brigiani**. The narrative of **Cæsar** is calculated to relieve doubt, both on the **Caturiges** and the **Garoceli**, more than any other surviving testimony. A people called **Caturiges** dwelt a little onward on that line which seems to me to have been **Cæsar's** line, namely over the **Genèvre** through **Briançon** to **Gap** and **Grenoble**. The town **Catorimagus**, **Chorges**, is a station in the **Itineraries** between **Embrun** and **Gap**; at which latter place it is reasonable to suppose that **Cæsar** turned northwards; going, as he states, through the **Vocontii** into the **Allobroges**. Though the name **Caturiges** is found in lists of mountaineer peoples, where the position, not being defined, is open to conjecture, they are nowhere exhibited as actors on the stage of history, excepting in this one sentence of **Cæsar**: and, for ascertaining his line of march, we must weigh all things that we find in his own statement of it. And here I cannot assent to a distinction, which **Mr. Ellis** suggests, between **Cottian Caturiges** and **Vocontian Caturiges**. He admits that there were the **Caturiges** of whom I speak: but not that they opposed **Cæsar**. He does not allow that the **Caturiges** of the **Durance** could be those of the **Cottian** league. But why not? Does he object to their being within **Cottian Alps**? **Catorimagus** is between **Embrun** and **Gap**: and, though **Strabo** makes **Κοττίου γῆ** to end at **Embrun**, **Mr. Ellis** lays it down, p. 169, that "the name of **Cottian Alps**, when applied to mountains, might have extended to **Gap** and even beyond." Not that I have any value for that conception. The question is, whether these **Caturiges** may not have helped to oppose **Cæsar**. **Strabo's** limit of **Κοττίου γῆ** need not, even in his own time, have been the precise limit of **Cottian** influence, or of hostility to **Rome**; and is still less applicable to this earlier period.

The Garoceli are not named by any ancient writer, excepting in this one sentence of Cæsar. Mr. Ellis says of them, p. 178 (speaking from 'Theatrum Sabaudiaë'), "They appear, in fact, to be identical with the Medulli, the city of St. Jean de Maurienne being mentioned in old documents as Sanctus Joannes Garocellius, a fact which seems to fix the Garoceli in the Lower Maurienne, the country of the Medulli." And he gives us the words of the author from whom he gets this fact—'in antiquis tabulis ac monumentis, S. Joannis Garocellii vocabulo appellatur legimus civitatis primariae, qua de agimus, Ecclesiam Cathedralem.' I do not venture to construe this. Other passages are given in Mr. Ellis's notes, which import that Maurienne, as an Episcopal see, used to be subject to the Primacy of Vienne. Now, supposing that some Sanctus Johannes Garocellius was once the Christian Bishop of Maurienne, how does this indicate the position of Cæsar's Garoceli? We are not even told why he was called Garocellius. A man having the agnomen Garocellius might become bishop of any place. Surely we want more facts than this one, before we believe the word Garocellius to mean the same as Mauriennensis, so as to enable us to locate the combatants of Cæsar on the lower Arc. And beyond this, Mr. Ellis assumes, or deduces, that the Garoceli are identical with the Medulli. Why so? And why assume that the Medulli themselves occupied the Lower Maurienne? I know nothing of Sanctus Johannes, nor of Theatrum Sabaudiaë, or other works referred to in Mr. Ellis's notes: but I know something of the Medulli. While Mr. Ellis puts them on the Lower Arc, and the Oxford Dissertation enters their name parallel with the vale of Gresivaudan, perhaps meaning them to occupy the nearest range of mountain, Strabo, the only direct authority, assigns to them the highest summits, ὑψηλοτάτας κορυφάς, evidently meaning the main chain of Alps, the barrier of Italy: for he adds, that 'the direct height is said to be 100 stadia

in ascent, and the same again in descent to the bounds of Italy.' And presently he says of that people, that 'they lie the furthest above the confluence of the Isere with the Rhone, and that, on the other side of the mountain range, which slopes to Italy, dwell the Taurini, a Ligurian nation, and other Ligurians.' These notices of Strabo, which I shall quote more at length presently, are marked and intelligible: and I think we shall be consistent with them, if we believe the Medulli to have occupied the high range from Mont Iseran southward to the parts above Turin and Susa. As for the Garoceli, we can only guess at their position: and it seems probable that they held the Mont Genève and Col de Sestrières and parts towards Monte Viso. I am content to conjecture their locality from the context of the history in which alone they are mentioned. As the description of Cæsar's track taken altogether, shews that he went over the Genève, Ocelum, which was in that track, seems to have a probable connection with the name Garoceli.

It appears however that, if we had much clearer evidence on the position of all the three peoples, whom Cæsar names as posted on Alpine heights to resist his passage, we should not thereby have any safe index to his line of march. Those three need not have constituted all his opponents on that occasion: and, whether they did or not, his march need not have been made through the proper territories of any of them. Under the influence and direction of the great mountain Chief, a force might be dispatched to hold a pass against the Roman army: and that force might be composed of particular tribes, although no one of them was owner of the pass then to be defended. We may conceive any nation, a member of the league, to have battalions at the headquarters, Susa: and, being there, they would be liable to be ordered on any particular service. In the case too that we are considering, two of the three were acting, as I believe, not very far from home: and the territory of

the third, the Centrones, may have reached to the Col de Vanoise.

But a better test is to be referred to. Cæsar's route is to be apprehended rather from the places or countries through which he passed, than from the names of those who on this occasion fought against him. Ocelum, therefore, *citerioris provinciæ extremum*, is an important indication. Not that Ocelum, if it had been on the road to Susa, would give an argument against the Genèvre having been Cæsar's pass. But, if Ocelum was not on the road to Susa, it is conclusive against the Cenis. Mr. Ellis makes Buttigliera, a place between Turin and Rivoli, to be Ocelum: and he names Susa as representing Scingomagus, a place which Strabo states to be 27 miles above Ocelum. I believe those two places to have stood in the other ascent to the Genèvre from the Po: and I found this opinion both on historical probability and on ancient evidences.

Scingomagus and Ocelum were clearly on the same line of ascent from the Po to the Genèvre: and the question is, whether they were on the Susa road or the Fenestrelle road,* which two become one at Césanne before the last ascent of the Pass. The two places are mentioned by Strabo in a route which he draws from the Rhone over the Alps, and which ends abruptly with Ocelum. Scingomagus is named as on the boundary of Italy; and Ocelum, 27 miles lower down, as on the boundary of the Roman Province. Also he is supposed to say, or to intend, that it is 99 miles from Embrun to Ocelum. His expression, Ὠκελον τὸ πέρας τῆς Κορτίου γῆς, means no doubt the same as Cæsar's '*citerioris provinciæ extremum*.' Thus, at the time of Cæsar's expedition, Ocelum was the Roman frontier post: and it

* I so call it from the famous fortress of that name. Napoleon directed his attention to the improvement of this route.

seems probable that Pompey, whose march to Spain was undoubtedly over the Mont Genève, had so established it. To him, as to Cæsar afterwards, it was a great object to get speedily over the Alps with as little interruption as possible: and, if Scingomagus had been Susa, it was in a line which it was most desirable to avoid, if there was an alternative. Susa, the principal town of the Segusini, was the capital of the great Alpine chieftain Cottius, and of his father before him. They headed the confederacy against the encroachments of Rome. This surely would be a reason against Cæsar's making his march by the Susa road. Indeed, if he had done so, we may believe that he would have encountered some impediment worthy of notice. We read, that certain bodies of men occupied *loca superiora*; but there is nothing in this that suggests the hostile capital in the valley. So much for historical probability.

As to evidence of position, those who assign these places to the Susa road, rest on this:—When Cottius became reconciled to Rome, and improved the road through his capital to the Alps, this became the imperial line, and was registered, as we see it, in the Itineraries. In that road there is a station, *Ad Fines*, which is 104 (about 99) miles from Embrun: this they pronounce to be *Ocelum*. There is also a station, *Segusio* (Susa) which is 33 (about 27) miles above *Ad Fines*: this they pronounce to be *Scingomagus*. Mr. Ellis of course accepts these identities as unquestionable. Moreover he is quite satisfied that in another passage (*lib. v. 212*) Strabo places *Ocelum* on the minor Doria, the river of the Susan valley; and he pretends that the *only* ground on which it has been supposed to be in the other route is the similarity of the word to *Usseau* in the *Val Pragelas*. I must not in this short pamphlet go through all details. I confidently assert that the Doria in that passage is the Doria *Baltea*: and that Strabo nowhere alludes to the minor Doria. The French translators do indeed turn 60

into 160 for that purpose, in opposition to their colleague, M. Gossellin. The passage, undeniably corrupt, may by a small effort be brought into common sense, and will shew, together with the passage in the 4th book, that Strabo could furnish no ideas, perhaps had acquired none, between Ocelum and the mouth of the Doria Baltea. Coming to Italy, he pulls up at the former. Going from Italy, he pulls up at the latter. He never deals with the intervening space. Now for a few words on the conclusiveness of the ninety-nine miles.

Commentators who preceded D'Anville had insisted upon Oulx or Exilles as representing the Ocelum of Cæsar and Strabo. He exploded those notions by this simple comment :—‘ In Ocelum we look for the limit of the Cis-Alpine Province: Oulx and Exilles were in the heart of the Cottian dominions, above Susa the capital.’ He then pointed out Ucello, a village just above Fenestrelle, as the ancient Ocelum, suggesting that it may have belonged to the Garoceli. He also found a little place called Scinguin, above the Col de Sestrières, which he notices as resembling Scingomagus. It was the learned author of *Chorographie de la Provence*, Honore Bouché, who had relied on Strabo's 99 miles as inconsistent with the notion that those places could be in the Fenestrelle route. But, besides that such a question is not necessarily concluded by a figure of Strabo, his text here again is corrupt. In order to read ninety-nine *miles*, you are obliged to convert stades into miles: that is, you must read *ἄλλα τοσαῦτα*, instead of *ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι* which appears in every manuscript. The sentence too is otherwise perplexed: words redundant: words contradictory: much in short to make it an unsafe guide.

We are to remember, that Strabo's iter to Italy in the fourth book with enumeration of places, is altogether halted at Ocelum: there is no hint of Susa or Turin. Turin indeed, though founded in his day, may not have been founded at the date of the authorities from which

he got his knowledge. There is of course nothing in that route concerning the Po or beyond the Po: he only shews the way to Ocelum. In the fifth book too, when he shews the way out of Italy and we might expect particulars at least to Ocelum, they are wanting. Turin is not named, nor the Po further up than the Doria, i. e. the Doria Baltea. These things being so, it is rash to presume that Strabo knew Turin, and the road up to Susa. It seems to be assumed that, living when he did, he must have had a knowledge of the improved road, and have had it in mind for instructing his readers. I think the evidence shews the contrary. Possibly he wrote the words in question before that road was Romanised. But, if the knowledge was within his reach, it is clear that he never got it. He ought perhaps to have been instructed on the conciliation in the Susan valley, as he was of the massacres in the Salassian valley: but the plain fact is that he was not. He mentions Κοττίου γῆ as the name of a district: but of Cottius himself, whether as an independent king, or a Roman-road maker, he says not a word. Is it credible that, if he had before him the new Imperial route with its stations, he should detail a course over those Alps to Italy, and again a course to those Alps from Italy, never alluding to Susa or Turin; nor that only, but that he designated Susa by the name Scingomagus, and never named Turin at all! As to the Po of Strabo, it is pretty well demonstrable that it was the Orco. Peutinger's Chart makes the Po to run from the Alps north of Susa and Turin. Ptolemy derives the Po from the lake of Como. Appian makes him rise near the fountains of the Rhone. If the Po of Polybius was the Orco or the Doire Baltique, there is no fault in him. In his day the Romans knew no Cottian Alps. And he himself need not have gone to the site of the Taurine Town, wherever that was.

There remains still to be noticed, a view of the question by which Honoré Bouche was misled, and

through which he appears to have influenced Wesseling. Strabo calls Scingomagus the beginning of Italy: and the Itinerary makes Segusio the beginning of Italy. Again, Strabo makes Ocelum the boundary of the Province: and the Itinerary seems to make Ad Fines the boundary of the Province. These similarities have suggested that these two Stations must represent those two places of Strabo. A mere fallacy! Be it, that the two stations were respectively on the two boundaries: also that Strabo's two places were respectively on the two boundaries. What then? Why fancy the points identical? Was there only one ascent to the Alps that crossed those two boundary lines, which divided Rome from her neighbours, and Italy from Gaul? There were two ways up to the Genèvre pass, from the borders of the Po: one along the minor Doria through Susa and the Cottian territories; one on the southern side of a distinct chain of mountains, by Pinerolo and Fenestrelle. Each road, at some point, crossed the boundary line of the Province: each road, at some point, crossed the boundary line of Italy. In the route which Strabo tells of, those points were Ocelum and Scingomagus. In the route of the Itinerary, they were Ad Fines and Segusio. This line having superseded the other, Ocelum and Scingomagus cannot appear in it. If the other line had been perpetuated as the Military Way of the Empire, they would have appeared in it. Let it not then be said, that the only reason for thinking this to have been Cæsar's road, is the similarity of Ucello to Ocelum. There is the fact, that in Cæsar's time the other was the enemy's road, which he would wisely avoid: that that road had not then become Roman, but became so at a later time; and that Strabo himself, whatever were his opportunities, appears to have been ignorant of its existence. These things may well outweigh an inference resting solely on a distance ambiguously expressed in a corrupted sentence.

As one of Mr. Ellis's reasons, appendix, p. 188, for believing in the identity of Susa with Scingomagus, is the similarity between Seingo and Segusio, I will remind him that the same writer can speak of both, meaning different places. Pliny, having occasion, in a succession of long distances, to mention a stretch from Rome to the frontier, uses the expression, 'Alpes usque et Cingomagus vicum:' thus confirming the reputation of an old boundary point. But did he mean Susa as the vicus? No. He speaks of Susa by its usual name, Segusio. Perhaps it will now be said that, though it could not be Susa, Pliny would *naturally* be referring to some place in the great Imperial Road. I would answer, that he is not dealing with roads. He is going from one end of the world to the other in a very few strides, the first being from the Ganges to the Euphrates.

On Ocelum was hinged Mr. Ellis's last proof of Cæsar's march. It falls with the rest. But I will attend him through his further difficulties. I have said that, when Cæsar pushed across the Alps to repress the Helvetii, and was resisted by a body of the Cottian confederation, the national names of the battalions that he encountered are of little value to us as an index to his route, compared with the statement of the countries that he passed through. On the seventh day from Ocelum, the border of the Province, he arrived in the territory of the Vocontii, having defeated the enemy in several engagements. From thence* he carried his legions into the country of the Allobroges; and from them into the Segusiani, who are the first beyond the outer Province, on the other side of the Rhone. I apprehend that he entered the Vocontii near Gap. From thence to Gre-

* The Oxford Dissertation supposes Cæsar to have proceeded from Gap to Valence, and to have crossed the Isère near the mouth. This does not satisfy the words 'inde in Allobrogum fines.' Inde imports, from the Vocontii; that Cæsar passed directly from them into the Allobroges.

noble they would have a practicable road down the Drac; the same which Plancus took a few years later, when he made a move against Anthony. The way forward to Lyons is obvious.

Mr. Ellis, in his Cenis route, struggles with two difficulties, one on the distance performed in seven days, the other on the transit through the Vocontii. As he has made good his footing in the valley of the Arc, with the help of Strabo, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the Table of Peutinger, he easily finds himself at St. Jean de Maurienne: from that place he makes a short cut to Grenoble, which is explained thus, p. 179.—“When Cæsar says “that he took the shortest road across the Alps, he may “probably mean that, instead of following from St. Jean “de Maurienne the longer and easier route by Aigue-
“belle, La Rochette, and Alleward, he took the shorter
“way by the Col du Glandon and the Col de la Coche,
“and was thus enabled to reach Grenoble in seven days
“after leaving Ocelum.” By this plan of march Mr. Ellis screws down the distance for the seven days to ‘about 136 Roman miles.’—“This distance (he says) “might have been performed by Cæsar in seven days: “for he could have marched, when in haste, at the rate
“of twenty Roman miles a day. That he was in haste,
“is certain: and the mention of the seven days seems to
“have been made with the view of proving the celerity
“with which he marched.” Certainly the legionaries must have been in high condition, if Mr. Ellis’s deductions about them could be true. Twenty miles a day, a rate for the old track up through Novalèse and La Ferrière! And the Glandon, unknown to all of us, may not have been more inviting. But Mr. Ellis, in giving scope to celerity, has overlooked one incident, not unimportant, which we gather from the words ‘locis superioribus occupatis.’ He forgets that, in addition to the fatigue of a march over such mountains, the Roman soldiers on some of these days had duties to perform, which, in consump-

tion of time, were equivalent to a large further distance, so as seriously to diminish any average speed which may be assigned to their progress ; duties and labours, of which a further notion is conveyed in the words ‘*compluribus his præliis pulsus.*’ Perhaps Mr. Ellis will, on his next tour, walk by La Ferrière and the Glandon from Buttigliera to Grenoble : let him carry a knapsack equal to the incumbrances of a Roman soldier, and make a fair allowance of time for *complura prælia* : and, after the experiment, let him report whether Cæsar’s five legions accomplished it within seven days. He will have some advantages : the Commissariat will be simpler : the country will be friendly ; and he will have Chaix’s Map, which Cæsar had not.

The legions are brought, to Mr. Ellis’s satisfaction, over the Col de Glandon and the Col de la Coche into the vale of Graisivaudan. But, having accomplished this, he is at a loss how to get them into the Vocontii. So he says, p. 179, note,—“Perhaps Cæsar did not cross the Drac. Near the modern Grenoble he might perhaps be said to be in *finibus Vocontiorum.*” Might be said ! Who is to say it : and what does it mean ? To be among the Vocontii, he must get inside the angle made by the two rivers : for they were south of Isère. We need not guess on what might perhaps be said by anybody else, when we know what Cæsar says himself. He says ‘*in Vocontiorum fines pervenit : inde in Allobrogum fines exercitum ducit.*’ These words do not warrant the ‘*in finibus*’ of Mr. Ellis, so long as the march abstained from crossing either the Drac or the Isère into the Vocontii. As to probability, it will perhaps be admitted, that, after toiling over La Glandon and La Coche with 15,000 men, Cæsar was not likely to cross the Drac as a way of getting to Grenoble. Although he was marching to the ancient Cularo, at a time when the Drac ran into the Isère rather above the town than below it, it was easier to put an army over one river than two.

The Little Mont Cenis spoken of by Strabo.

Mr. Ellis winds up his evidences of the Antiquity of the Cenis pass with the testimony of Strabo. He thinks, p. 180, that, when Julius Cæsar is so clearly proved to have made use of the Cenis, we should not hesitate to rely on Strabo also. "It may now be concluded with safety, that the Pass of which Strabo speaks, lib. iv, "between the country of the Medulli and that of the Taurini, was that of the Little Mont Cenis." He then refers to what he said before in a note, p. 132. "Strabo speaks in this place, lib. iv, of a Pass from the country of the Medulli into that of the Taurini. The length of the ascent, he says, is stated to be 100 stadia, and the descent to the frontiers of Italy is said to be of the same length." Mr. Ellis then observes that "from Bramans to Susa it is very nearly 200 stadia, the lake on the M. Cenis being about half-way:" and he adds, "The great lake which Strabo mentions must be that on the Mont Cenis." He also defends Strabo against exaggeration in calling it a great lake, though Mr. Ellis himself considers it a small one. Now all this has rather a promising appearance: and the reader begins to expect that Strabo does produce something on the Cenis Pass, to make up for the blanks in Ammianus, Cæsar, and the Chart. Alas! there is just this misfortune; that in the passage relied on Strabo does not speak of any Pass at all. Mr. Ellis's imagination, always fertile, has supplied that leading idea, not found in the geographer. Strabo is speaking on a broad scale of the location of peoples, mentioning the loftiest Alps and the reputed heights. I will give his words, with enough of context to make them intelligible. He has in the previous paragraph spoken of the Salyes, the Allobroges, the Ligyes between Genoa and the Var, the Volcæ about Nîmes; and of the

Roman method of severally governing these peoples. Having there named the Vocontii as reaching to the Allobroges, he now says, p. 203, "Beyond the Vocontii are the Siconii and the Tricorii: and, beyond these, the Medulli occupy the highest summits, the direct height of which is, they say, 100 stadia in ascent, and the same again in descent to the bounds of Italy. Up in some hollow parts there stands a great lake, and two springs not far one from the other. From one of these the Druentia flows in one direction and falls into the Rhone: in the contrary direction the Doria flows, and, running through the Salassi into Cisalpine Gaul, falls into the Po. From the other spring on a much lower level flows the Po himself. In his progress he becomes larger and quieter, and receives increase from many rivers: in the plain he becomes broader still, and, as he pours on, has a more extended but less vigorous stream: he falls into the Adriatic sea, having become the greatest river of Europe after the Danube."

"The Medulli lie the furthest above the confluence of the Isère with the Rhone:* and on the other side of the mountain range spoken of, which slopes towards Italy, dwell the Taurini, a Ligurian nation, and other Ligurians: and of these is the land called the land of Ideonnus, and that of Cottius. Beyond these and the Po are the Salassi: and above them in the mountain-heights are the Centrones, and the Caturiges and the Veragri, and the Nantuates, and the Leman lake through which the Rhone is carried, and the fountains of that river. And not far from these are the sources

* In an earlier part of this 4th book, p. 185, Strabo, when first mentioning the peoples placed between the Rhone and the Alps, had spoken of the Cavares as lying along the left bank of the Rhone from the Durance to the Isère; and he then said, 'Above the Cavares lie the Vocontii, Iconii, Tricorii and Medulli.'

“ of the Rhine, from which both the Rhine flows northward, and the Adua in the contrary direction, falling into the lake of Como.”

In all this, which I have quoted continuously, no Pass is spoken of: no route for travelling from one part of a country to another; there are no terms, like ὁδός, or ὑπέρθεις, which Strabo employs on such occasions; no way διὰ Μεδοάλων or διὰ Ταυρίνων: no instruction for distances either by measurement of space or time: no points of starting, or arriving. In short, you might as well say that, in speaking of the height of the Greek mountains at the end of the same book, he is giving the length of roads, as here that he is telling of a pass of Alps. Strabo's Pass of the Cenis, like the same thing ascribed to other authorities, is a delusion.

Mr. Ellis, having thus exhibited the Cenis as a Taurine pass of Strabo, (he admits that the Genèvre was also known to him) is able to give a new meaning to the three well-known words ἡν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν. The claims of the Genèvre are discussed for a page or two; but, although Taurine, it is not acknowledged as *the* Taurine pass which Strabo imputes to Polybius. Mr. Ellis says, p. 181, “ Strabo seems to have introduced the words ἡν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν for the purpose of definition, the pass which Hannibal crossed being necessarily the most ancient of the two, and therefore the one known to Polybius, of which Strabo wishes to speak.”* This gives the Cenis precedence over the Cottian rival: and, to confirm it as the more ancient of the two, Mr. Ellis reverts to the *valuable* and *perfect* evidence of the predecessor Julius Cæsar. He illustrates the credit of these two witnesses by a paragraph on the alterations of Alpine roads by Augustus after the submission of Cottius; but naturally forgets to men-

* These words of Strabo are quite without value for interpreting Polybius. Moreover, in one highly esteemed manuscript, the three words are altogether wanting.

tion how this leads to the conclusion that the *Rómans* had used the Cenis in earlier times. Strabo's indication of the route is at last confirmed, p. 182, by this argument.—“The route of the Mont Genève, as given by Strabo, led by Embrun and the Durance to Arles. The cross road from Gap, to Die and Valence, is not mentioned by him. The route of the Mont Genève, as far as can be gathered from him, was only known by him as leading to the Rhone by way of the Durance. The route of the Little Mont Cenis passed through the country of the Medulli, would thus lead into the Graisivaudan, and reach the Rhone by way of the Isère.” Here Mr. Ellis, arbitrating between his two Taurine passes, professes to nail the right one. It is plain enough that there is no such alternative to be dealt with. But, if he wishes the guidance of Strabo, for crossing the Alps so as to be led into the Graisivaudan, he had better refer to p. 208 of the 4th book. The route from Aosta over the Little St. Bernard to Lyons is the only one of his Alpine tracks by which there is any chance of having a peep into the Graisivaudan.

My criticism may end as it began, with exhibiting the hypothesis to which it is applied, as expressed in these last words of the Treatise.—“On whatever authority the enquiry into Hannibal's route be based ; whether it be grounded on the narrative of Polybius, or of Livy, or upon the knowledge of the ancient roads across the Alps, the conclusion reached is always the same, and the Little Mont Cenis is pointed out, in every case, as the pass by which Hannibal effected his descent into the plains of Italy.” This is the proposition which I have called in question, endeavouring in the fairest way to substantiate my opinion of its merits. I would rank the author, for his efforts to expound the truth, with another writer on the same subject, who made his attempt sixty years ago. The two works on Hannibal's march, to which the greatest amount of labour and study have

been applied with the least advantage, are, in my judgment, that of Mr. Whitaker in 1795, and that of Mr. Ellis in 1854. They differ however exceedingly in style. That of the former is vain and offensive. The style of Mr. Ellis is chaste and agreeable: there is nothing to disturb the most fastidious critic, but the perverseness of the arguments by which his theory is supported. In my notice of them I shall perhaps be thought to be too prolix. My excuse is, that, dealing with matter so perplexed, I must, in labouring to be short, have become obscure.

SOME REMARKS
ON
THE HYPOTHESIS OF M. REPLAT.

It was mentioned in the Preface, that I amused myself last August at Aix, with commenting on this Hypothesis. I found it exhibited in an octavo pamphlet of 87 pages, entitled ‘Note sur le Passage d’Annibal—par Jacques Replat—Chambéry. Imprimerie Bachet, Rue du Chateau. 1851.’ My observations were printed at Chambéry—Imprimerie de Puthod, au Champ de Mars—I reprint them here.

OBSERVATIONS

SUR

L'OUVRAGE DE M. REPLAT.

Aix-les-Bains, 4 septembre 1854.

Je suis venu dans ce charmant lieu pour ma santé au commencement du mois d'août. Parmi les amusements que j'y ai rencontrés, je trouve un ouvrage sur le passage d'Annibal, publié à Chambéry par M. Replat, jurisconsulte à Annecy : je voudrais qu'on me permît aussi le plaisir de le critiquer. Je veux dédier les observations suivantes aux habitants et aux visiteurs d'Aix-les-Bains, qui s'intéresseront toujours vivement, j'en suis sûr, à l'événement qui, plus que tout autre, donne la célébrité à leur Mont-du-Chat. Quant à moi, la seule partie de la route entière des Carthaginois, de l'Espagne à la plaine d'Italie, que j'ai pu parcourir jusqu'à présent, est peut-être de six kilomètres, depuis le col de cette montagne jusqu'au village du Bourget. Jamais je ne me suis approché de la chaîne principale des Alpes.

Il est fort évident que M. Replat s'est bien instruit des auteurs classiques. Il avance ses opinions avec vivacité ; son style est agréable, et ses nouvelles idées sont déployées d'une manière modeste. L'examen que je veux faire de ses opinions n'a pour objet que ceci seul : la vérité sur un fait historique. Maintenant cet examen sera court par nécessité. Je suis sans livres,—sans Polybe,—sans Tite-Live ; et, ce qui est encore plus désastreux pour celui

qui fait un premier essai en français, je suis sans dictionnaire. Si je ne résiste pas à aborder un sujet aussi intéressant, je m'y mêle seulement dans le but de corriger des erreurs singulières, sans prétendre en cette occasion établir en détail les conclusions les plus positives, auxquelles chacun peut arriver à force de lire l'historien grec.

Voici l'hypothèse de M. Replat : " Le col de la Seigne " est incontestablement le col du Cramont, le *Jugum Cremonis* de Cœlius Antipater."

Je puis bien concéder, puisque je l'ai toujours cru, que le mot Cramont représente le mot *Crema*, mentionné par Tite-Live. C'est lui qui dit que l'historien Cœlius avait raconté qu'Annibal traversa le *Cremonis Jugum*. J'ai cru aussi qu'Annibal a traversé la montagne ainsi indiquée par Tite-Live ; mais pourquoi le Col de la Seigne ?

Le Cramont est une montagne qui s'élève à droite quand on va de Pré-St-Didier vers le Petit-St-Bernard. On peut en faire l'ascension en partant par cette route, soit après une demi-heure de Pré-Saint-Didier, soit du village d'Eléva, qui est plus avancé sur le chemin et plus près du village de la Thuile, qui ne se trouve pas loin du pied du passage du Petit-Saint-Bernard. Le Cramont, au nord, est un précipice qui borde l'Allée-Blanche, par laquelle on voyage de Courmayeur au Col de la Seigne, cotoyant à droite les glaciers du Mont-Blanc. De Saussure dit : " La cime du Cramont ne domine pas immédiatement " sur l'Allée-Blanche. Elle en est séparée par des chaînes " de montagnes plus basses, qui empêchent que les yeux " ne plongent jusqu'au fond de cette vallée."

Je ne doute pas que Cœlius, rapportant *Cremonis Jugum*, a parlé de la véritable route d'Annibal ; et j'accepte son témoignage comme le témoignage d'un historien qui suivit Polybe sur un sujet dont il n'était alors pas question. Maintenant il me semble que, pour

comprendre ce que c'était que *Cremonis Jugum*, il faut penser à l'autorité dont nous recevons ces idées, c'est-à-dire à Tite-Live. Sans adopter son opinion, il faut écouter sa narration. Il ne croyait pas que ce que Cœlius avait rapporté fût vrai. Il a prononcé qu'Annibal ne traversa pas le *Cremonis Jugum*. Il parle de ce passage-là comme d'un passage qu'il connaissait bien ; il dit que c'est un passage qui conduit au pays des Salasses, et que, selon son opinion, il était très improbable qu'un tel passage fût ouvert du temps d'Annibal. Il prononce de même sur le passage Penine, qui conduit aussi dans le pays des Salasses. En effet, il déclare que ces deux passages, qui de son temps étaient bien connus comme routes militaires, ne pouvaient être praticables dans un temps aussi ancien.

Il est nécessaire donc que M. Replat maintienne que Tite-Live, quand il fait mention du *Cremonis Jugum*, parle du Col de la Seigne. La raison en faveur d'une telle théorie, que je trouve dans ses observations, est la même qu'on a trouvée quelquefois en faveur des autres, c'est-à-dire qu'elle est incontestable. S'il y a d'autres raisons, je ne m'en aperçois pas. Il me semble qu'il y a de meilleures raisons pour soutenir que l'historien parle du Petit-Saint-Bernard.

Strabon, contemporain de Tite-Live, a décrit deux passages des Alpes qui montent de la vallée des Salassiens, et qui conduisent à Lyon, l'un par le col Penine, l'autre à travers le pays des Centrons. Il raconte l'histoire des guerres atroces que faisaient les Romains aux habitants de cette vallée, et de leur campement établi où se fondait alors la cité Augusta Prætoria. N'est-ce pas que Tite-Live, quand il parle des deux passages, a parlé des mêmes que Strabon ? Nul écrivain de l'antiquité n'a parlé d'un troisième passage aboutissant dans cette vallée. Personne n'a jamais conçu que les routes militaires, qui sortent de cette vallée afin de traverser les Alpes, et dont on se servait avant que ces deux écrivains aient commencé

leurs histoires, et qui dans les temps suivants sont nommés Graien et Penine, puissent être autres que le petit et le grand Saint-Bernard. Jules-César parle du grand, mais pas sous le nom de Penine. Après la défaite de Marc-Antoine, Plancus, écrivant à Cicéron de Grenoble, parle des secours qu'il attendait d'au-delà de ces l'Alpes. A-t-on jamais douté qu'il les attendît au-delà de l'Alpe Graien (le Petit-Saint-Bernard)? Ces événements ont précédé les récits de Tite-Live et de Strabon.

M. Replat concède que les routes des Itinéraires, soit celle qui conduit par Chambéry, soit celle qui conduit par Annecy, étaient tracées à travers le Petit-Saint-Bernard et le long de l'Isère. Cependant il veut que le Col de la Seigne soit incontestablement l'Alpe Graien; que ce col-là vous présente la voie par les Centrons; enfin, que par là se trouve le *Cremonis Jugum* de Coelius et de Tite-Live. Puisqu'il n'a rien à dire qui donne à ces propositions une fondation sur les écrits de l'antiquité, je crois qu'il ferait bien de se ressouvenir que le sommet du Petit-Saint-Bernard est nommé dans l'Itinéraire *Alpis Graia*; que la route qui y est décrite passe par *Darantasia* (Tarentaise), *Axima* (Aime), *Lemincum* (Chambéry); et qu'on trouve sur le chemin aujourd'hui le village de Centron. On peut demander en quoi consiste l'évidence sur la vallée de Beaufort.

Il est amusant d'observer, à l'égard de la route d'Annibal, que M. Replat, faisant objection au Petit-Saint-Bernard, donne la même raison que Tite-Live a donnée contre le *Cremonis Jugum*. Tous les deux déclarent que, selon leur opinion, il n'est pas probable qu'une telle route ait été connue dans un temps aussi reculé. L'argument n'est pas très puissant. Mais voici une différence entre ces deux écrivains: Tite-Live soutient comme le vrai passage d'Annibal une route qui était très connue de son temps pour la marche des armées: la grande route d'Italie en Espagne, la route de Pompée, la route de César. M. Replat, en maintenant

le col du Bonhomme et le col de la Seigne comme le vrai passage, maintient une route qui a été très peu fréquentée depuis le temps le plus ancien jusqu'aujourd'hui. Il est vrai que de nos jours la montagne du Bonhomme se laisse franchir par les voyageurs ; mais elle passe pour une des plus dangereuses.

M. Replat avait assez sous les mains, sans adopter la conception de se reposer en même temps sur les témoignages de Polybe et de Tite-Live. Il est rare qu'un auteur ait le courage d'abandonner l'espoir de les faire concilier entre eux : toujours il en résulte la contradiction de soi-même. Cet auteur veut pardonner à Tite-Live d'avoir fait une erreur au sujet de la Durance ; et il s'est persuadé que " le recit même de cet historien exclut l'idée " d'une descente directe chez les Taurini." C'est précisément l'idée sur laquelle Tite-Live se repose.

Tite-Live a fait invention d'une hypothèse, comme M. Replat, et il l'a fort mal soutenue. Cependant il n'y a rien de contradictoire dans sa narration. Selon lui, les Carthaginois marchèrent à l'Ile par accident, c'est-à-dire par des causes imprévues, et non par dessein conçu à l'avance. Il dit ensuite qu'Annibal, après avoir arrangé les disputes des Allobroges et commencé sa marche vers les Alpes, tourna à gauche pour aller chez les Tricastins. Cela pouvait se faire sans qu'il ait revenu de beaucoup sur ses pas le long du Rhône. Alors l'historien nomme d'autres objets qui se trouvaient dans la route au passage des Alpes : les Voconces,—les Tricoriens,—la Durance ;—tout est d'accord. Cependant M. Replat dit : " La narration est tellement obscure, qu'on ne sait " s'il a voulu suivre la route du Mont-Viso, ou du Mont-Cenis, ou du Mont-Genèvre." N'est-ce pas assez qu'on lise ces mots : *Tricastini*,—*Vocontii*,—*Tricorii*,—*Druentia* ? Il en résulte le Mont-Genèvre.

M. Replat n'est pas, comme Tite-Live, conséquent

avec lui-même. Plus tard, il suggère que "Tite-Live, " se fondant sur l'autorité de Cincius, soutient qu'Annibal " est descendu directement sur les Taurini." Sans doute Tite-Live le soutient : mais il ne tire pas l'idée "*descente directe*" de Cincius. Il n'est point nécessaire que les mots *gens Gallis proxima* soient les mots de Cincius. Mais c'est là une chose indifférente. Le mot *Gallis* ne signifie pas *Gallis in alpinis*. Il signifie *Gallis accolis Padi*.

On sait bien que plusieurs théoristes sur ce sujet ont avec la plus grande facilité nommé tout peuple Allobroges quand il leur convenait de le faire ; de même qu'ils ont nommé toute rivière Druentia—l'Arve, la Drance, le Drac, etc.—M. Replat a recours à ce moyen facile, quand il dit : "Tite-Live n'a pas indiqué quelle " montagne Annibal a franchie." Assurément il l'indique très clairement : il fait son argument d'une manière qu'on ne peut méconnaître. En combattant l'histoire de Cœlius (*jugum Cremonis*) et l'autre hypothèse du Penine, il soutient qu'Annibal ne pouvait avoir traversé ces montagnes, parce que les deux passages l'auraient conduit non pas aux Taurini, mais aux Salassi montani. Veut-on une indication plus claire de l'opinion de l'historien ? Dans cet argument contre les passages qui ne conduisent pas aux Taurini, il indique le passage qui doit conduire aux Taurini. Sans cela, le Genève est le passage nécessaire après avoir quitté les Tricoriens et passé la Durance : mais quand, de plus, l'historien a donné son argument, c'est vraiment frivole de regarder comme douteuse son opinion.

Et pourquoi M. Replat, qui veut traverser le *jugum Cremonis* avec Cœlius, et qui entre dans la plaine d'Italie chez les Insubres avec Polybe, trouve-t-il convenable d'invoquer l'assistance d'un historien qui a condamné si distinctement ces deux propositions ? C'est parce qu'il a le caprice de tracer la marche sur la rive gauche de l'Isère ; et que, pour fortifier cette conception, il veut

que Tite-Live ait voulu indiquer la même chose dans les mots "*per extremam oram Vocontiorum.*" Pour soutenir cette interprétation des mots de Tite-Live, M. Replat nous apprend que "d'Anville entrevoit qu'Annibal passait " le long de la frontière septentrionale des Voconces." Il n'a pas bien consulté d'Anville. S'il veut bien regarder au mot Tricorii et à d'autres dans la notice de l'ancienne Gaule par d'Anville, il trouvera, je suis sûr, que cet écrivain, en faisant l'analyse de ce que dit Tite-Live, fait aller la marche, quand elle rétrograde de l'Isère, par Crest, Die, Corps et le val Godemar à la Durance près de Briançon. D'Anville a peu étudié l'histoire de Polybe. Ses efforts étaient portés à interpréter Tite-Live.

Les interprétations malheureuses de Tite-Live qu'a données M. Replat ne sont pas originales : et pour lui elles sont vraiment sans objet. Il y en a une qui semble avoir d'originalité. Il trouve grande difficulté sur les Tricastini. Voici comment il veut y échapper. Voyant que l'historien nomme en succession les peuples dont Annibal a parcouru les territoires après s'être mis en route pour les Alpes, M. Replat pense " qu'il a voulu jeter un " coup-d'œil d'ensemble, rétrospectif en partie, tant sur " la direction suivie avant d'arriver dans l'île, tant sur la " direction qu'ils allaient suivre." C'est la même chose que de dire que l'expression "*sedatis certaminibus Allo-*" "*brogum quam jam Alpes peteret*" comprend l'idée "*quum*" "*jam insulam peteret.*!"

Mais il est temps que nous cherchions en quoi consiste le développement de l'hypothèse de M. Replat, et par quels moyens il est arrivé à croire incontestable que le passage d'Annibal se soit fait par le col de la Seigne. Voici une proposition d'importance. " Annibal était " pressé d'atteindre le sommet des Alpes, avant que

“ l'armée de Publius eût opéré son retour en Italie pour
 “ venir défendre le pied des montagnes ; ainsi, le Mont-
 “ Blanc, avec ses neiges resplendissantes, était le phare
 “ élevé dont les Carthaginois, depuis leur entrée dans les
 “ Gaules, aspiraient à se rapprocher.”

Voyons donc les illustrations de la route de Polybe, que donne M. Replat, après avoir quitté le Rhône en se rapprochant de ce phare.

L'Ile.

M. Replat dit : “ Nous pensons qu'Annibal n'a point
 “ traversé l'Isère, et que sa marche le long du Rhône
 “ s'est arrêtée aux environs de Valence.” Maintenant il
 veut suivre Polybe, “ ce guide le plus fidèle et le plus
 “ sur.” On sait bien que l'Ile de Polybe est bordée par
 deux fleuves et une chaîne de montagnes. M. Replat a
 besoin de trois fleuves ; il veut que l'Ile soit “ la partie de
 “ l'ancien Dauphiné, limitée au nord par l'Isère, au
 “ couchant par le Rhône, au midi par la Drôme, à l'est
 “ par les Alpes.” Il y a une petite excuse pour cette in-
 terprétation : c'est qu'elle n'est pas nouvelle. J'oublie
 qui est l'auteur français qui a ainsi conçu l'Ile polybienne :
 je crois que c'était un militaire.

Les Allobroges.

M. Replat trouve les Allobroges dans son Ile. Il
 suit les commentateurs nombreux qui ont prononcé que
 les Voconces, les Cavares, même tous les peuples et
 peuplades dans cette partie de la France furent “ des
 “ Allobroges confédérés.” C'est une présomption sans
 fondement. On ne trouve dans les écrits de l'antiquité
 d'autre nom pour les habitants du Dauphiné au nord de
 l'Isère, que celui d'Allobroges. On ne trouve au sud de
 cette rivière aucun peuple sans son propre nom : et
 jamais ce n'est celui d'Allobroges. Si l'on veut que les

Voconces furent Allobroges, pourquoi les Allobroges ne furent-ils pas Voconces? Une hypothèse vaut bien l'autre.

Les 1,400 Stades de Polybe.

M. Replat semble adopter l'opinion commune qu'Annibal passa le Rhône près de Roquemaure. Polybe donne 1,400 stades de ce passage au commencement des Alpes. M. Replat veut mesurer cette distance par Valence jusqu'à Pontcharraz sur l'Isère. Je crois que c'est beaucoup moins que 1,400. Mais il ne veut pas que la première partie du chemin, c'est-à-dire jusqu'à l'Île, soit de 600 ; il dit : " Annibal ne pouvait pas, en quatre " jours de marche, franchir une distance de 600 stades." Mais pourquoi? Voici la réponse : " Il parcourut seule- " ment 800 stades en dix jours." Il faut se ressouvenir que la marche de 600 jusqu'à l'Île était rapide et sans interruption, ayant pour objet d'éviter les Romains. Quant aux dix jours suivants, il faut y comprendre le passage de l'Isère et même des jours de repos, c'est-à-dire où l'on n'avancait pas.

Le Combat avec les Allobroges.

M. Replat quitte l'Isère à Pontcharraz pour la retrouver plus haut. C'est parce que " autrefois cette " partie du val Graisivaudan, qui est entre Pontcharraz " et Montmélian, était trop marécageuse pour l'armée " carthaginoise." Les écrivains qui maintiennent que la marche se faisait sur la rive gauche de l'Isère ont toujours peur de se hasarder à donner une description du pays. On sait bien que, si l'on accepte Polybe pour guide, il faut qu'il y ait un pays plat dans cette partie de la marche, parce que là, selon lui, la cavalerie pouvait se déployer et repousser toute attaque. Dans leurs dissertations, qui sont assez nombreuses, il n'y en a pas une où

l'auteur dit qu'il a visité les plaines entre Romans et Grenoble. M. Replat, comme les autres, a oublié les montagnes qui bordent l'Isère. Ainsi il ne dit rien sur les difficultés que devait offrir le Drac avec ses inondations, ni sur le pays marécageux près du confluent de l'Arc et de l'Isère. C'est à travers ce pays-là qu'il veut faire continuer la marche, après avoir franchi ses premières Alpes entre Pontcharraz et la Rochette. Quant aux environs de ces villes, je ne les connais pas ; il ne serait pas difficile de s'assurer s'ils correspondent avec la narration que fait Polybe du combat avec les Allobroges. J'ai toujours trouvé absurde d'insister qu'une ville des Barbares de 218 A. C. dût être encore un ville de 1854 A.D.

Second Combat avec les Barbares.

M. Replat dit : " Annibal fut attaqué par les Centrons " le quatrième jour après le premier combat livré par les " Allobroges." Il a tort dans cette assertion. Voici les quinze jours d'Annibal dans les Alpes : 1. le combat ;— 2. on reste à la ville ;— 3. la marche recommence ;— 6. le quatrième jour de marche depuis la ville, on rencontre les Barbares avec leurs protestations d'amitié ;— 8. les Barbares, ayant accompagné la marche pendant deux jours, attaquent les Carthaginois ;— 9. on atteint le sommet ;— 10. on reste au sommet ;— 15. Annibal touche la plaine d'Italie.

Quant au lieu du combat, M. Replat est un théoriste très complaisant. Au lieu de prescrire, comme les autres, où l'on trouvera les différents endroits décrits par Polybe, il vous accorde un choix fort libre. Il n'a pas su se convaincre si c'était le quatrième ou le troisième jour après le premier combat que le second se livra. (Ce n'était ni l'un ni l'autre.) Il dit que, si c'était le quatrième, " les Carthaginois auraient été attaqués par les " Centrons dans les défilés qui, de Beaufort, conduisent à

“ Roselant ; ” et que, si c'était le troisième, “ la gorge où Annibal fut attaqué serait celle qui conduit à Queige depuis Conflans ou depuis Césarches.”

La Roche blanche.

Encore la même complaisance.—“ Soit en avant, soit en arrière de Beaufort, on peut aussi trouver le *Leucopetron*, si par ce mot-là on doit entendre un rocher “ nu et naturellement fortifié.” Enfin M. Replat fait la découverte d'un rocher digne de signaler le combat d'Annibal, quoiqu'il ne nous dise pas en quelle gorge ou en quelle partie de la route, “ depuis l'Arly à Roselant,” son rocher soit visible. Le voici: “ Par ce mot (*leucopetron*), Polybe n'aurait-il point indiqué le Mont-Blanc? On découvre le Mont-Blanc depuis quelques points de la vallée de Beaufort : c'est une roche blanche “ un peu plus merveilleuse que celle assise au pied du “ Petit-Saint-Bernard, et le roi des Alpes méritait bien “ une mention spéciale de la part de Polybe, le doyen des “ touristes.”

Mais que veut faire M. Replat avec son phare, son leucopetron? Traduisant Polybe, il nous rapporte : “ Annibal fut obligé de passer la nuit séparé des chevaux “ et des bêtes de somme, avec la moitié de ses troupes, sur “ une roche nue et naturellement fortifiée (*leucopetron*).” Le mot *nue* est mauvais: *leucopetron* est toujours roche blanche, quoi qu'en disent Letronne et d'autres. La description *naturellement fortifiée* est juste. Si Annibal a passé la nuit sur le rocher de M. Replat, sans doute il était content des fortifications naturelles. Quel étonnement doit causer cette idée du Mont-Blanc aux disciples de M. Larauza qui a tant travaillé et tant écrit afin de démontrer que *perì* signifie *sur* et non pas *près de* !

Je sais bien que M. Replat, malgré la traduction *sur*, ne veut imaginer que *près de*. Mais, quant à l'intention de Polybe, cette théorie ne vaut rien, même quand on lit

près de. Est-ce que l'historien voudrait indiquer le champ de bataille dans la vallée de Beaufort, en disant qu'il était *près du Mont-Blanc*? Après l'événement du combat, selon M. Replat, Annibal de jour en jour se trouvait plus près du Mont-Blanc qu'il ne l'était la nuit qui suivit le combat. Comment donc l'idée de la proximité pourrait-elle marquer l'endroit où le combat se livra?

Campement au sommet.

On sait que l'armée est restée deux jours au sommet. Monsieur Replat concède qu'un campement au sommet du col de la Seigne serait impossible. Il dit: "Cette cime n'offrait ni abri, ni espace;—mais Annibal a pu placer son camp à demi-lieue de l'arête, dans les vastes prairies qui entourent le chalet du Glacier. Il avait pu aussi laisser son arrière-garde dans le bassin de Chapiu, qui est éloigné d'une heure de l'oratoire du Glacier." Encore M. Replat est sans opinion; il présente au lecteur le choix entre Chapiu et le col du Bonhomme. Il dit ensuite: "S'il est arrivé au col de la Seigne par celui du Bonhomme, c'est peut-être ce dernier que Polybe entendait désigner en parlant de la cime de la montagne. Dans cette hypothèse, le trajet du Bonhomme à la Seigne devrait être compris dans la descente." Voilà une idée très singulière. Il est vrai que M. Replat dit que le Bonhomme est plus élevé que la Seigne de 2,400 pieds; mais de Saussure nous enseigne que le col de la Seigne est plus haut que celui du Bonhomme!

La Neige.

M. Replat s'aperçoit d'une circonstance qui confirme sa théorie. Il a déjà mentionné que, lorsqu'Annibal atteignit la cime de la montagne, elle était couverte de neige. Alors il s'explique ainsi: "En gravissant les Alpes, les Carthaginois n'avaient point rencontré de la

“neige, encore moins de la glace; mais ils en trouvèrent des masses considérables dans la descente.”—“Le col de la Seigne est le seul où la neige ait pu tomber en abondance au mois de septembre, époque du coucher de la pléiade.” L'explication est fort malheureuse. Si le col de la Seigne se trouve si désagréable au mois de septembre, il doit être encore moins aimable à la fin d'octobre. Annibal atteignit le sommet des Alpes vers la fin d'octobre, et le coucher de la pléiade ne se faisait pas au mois de septembre, mais le 26 octobre.

Vue des plaines du Pô.

Ici M. Replat commence avec du bon sens. Il pense “qu'on ne peut pas découvrir les plaines depuis un col des Alpes franchissable pour une armée.”

Encore du bon sens.—Il résiste au propos merveilleux de M. Bourrit, selon lequel l'armée s'est amusée, le jour de repos au sommet, à monter sur le glacier qui domine le col de la Seigne et le col des Fours, afin de jouir de la vue.

Cependant M. Replat pense que ce plaisir-là fut accordé aux soldats d'Annibal. Ainsi il se trouve dans un embarras dont il se propose deux moyens d'échapper.

1°. “Que le passage de Polybe doit être pris pour une simple fiction oratoire. Annibal a fait ce que Bonaparte a fait après lui. Napoléon aussi a préludé à ses triomphes de Montenotte, de Millesimo et d'Arcole par une proclamation où, depuis les bords du Var, il montrait à ses guerriers les cités opulentes et les belles provinces que leur cachait alors l'épais rideau des Alpes.”

Il n'y a rien de véritable dans cette comparaison. Polybe n'était pas amateur de fictions; il veut ce qu'il dit, et il ne dit pas, comme on le suppose ordinairement, que les soldats jouissaient d'une vue d'Italie. On comprend bien qu'Annibal se soit adressé à son armée, qu'il lui ait montré que l'ascension des Alpes était accomplie et qu'on allait en faire la descente. En cela consistait

alors la preuve de leur succès. Sans doute il leur a indiqué avec le doigt la direction de sa marche vers les territoires romains. Mais, selon l'historien, il n'a point prétendu faire voir à son armée la plaine du Pô.

2°. Encore, quant à la vue dont on s'imagine que Polybe a voulu parler, M. Replat dit : " Il suffit pour
 " cela d'une simple illusion d'optique, illusion que j'ai
 " moi-même éprouvée.—Depuis le sommet du passage
 " de la Seigne, je découvrirai à une grande distance les
 " champs cultivés près du glacier de la Brenva, puis la
 " vallée qui part d'Entrèves et se termine au col Férét ;
 " les nuages, en coupant le flanc des montagnes par une
 " tranche uniforme, encadraient ce fond du paysage ;
 " chaudement colorée par les rayons du soleil à son déclin,
 " inondée de cette éclatante lumière qui descend des gla-
 " ciers, vue ainsi d'en haut et du sein des steppes de
 " l'Allée-Blanche, la vallée d'Entrèves ressemblait bien à
 " une plaine riante. On pouvait, sans trop d'exagération,
 " la prendre pour une frange d'or du laticlave qui couvre
 " le cœur de la noble Ausonie."

Je puis bien croire que M. Replat soit plus susceptible d'une illusion que ne l'était Annibal.—Il aime la poésie,—et moi aussi j'aime la poésie ; mais je sens que, pour un interprète de Polybe, il vaut mieux être prosaïque. Et vraiment, je crois que, sous l'influence du soleil couchant, un général, connaissant la géographie, devait s'apercevoir très clairement que la vallée d'Entrèves, qui touche au Mont-Blanc et qui est entourée de montagnes, n'avait aucune prétention à faire partie de la plaine d'Italie, soit Cispadane, soit Transpadane.

La Descente.

On connaît bien la description intéressante que donne Polybe du mauvais pas par lequel la marche fut arrêtée en descendant, et de la vieille neige de l'année passée couverte de celle qui était tombée récemment, circon-

stance dont il parle comme propre (*idiôn*) au lieu où elle se trouvait, et existante alors à un degré de plus qu'à l'ordinaire. Ici encore M. Replat est fort complaisant envers le lecteur, lui accordant un bon choix d'obstacles. "Les obstacles que les Numides prirent pour la vieille neige, c'était le glacier de l'Allée-Blanche,—ou bien le glacier de la Brenva,—ou bien encore le glacier de "Miage." Avec la même précision il nous instruit sur le campement qu'on fit pour la réparation du chemin. "Annibal a pu placer son camp sur un plateau qui précède un promontoire que domine la vallée de Combal, soit dans la plaine du lac Combal,—soit dans la vallée de Veni."

M. Replat a cité un morceau de l'histoire de Polybe sur le campement qu'Annibal fit pour la réparation du sentier; mais il n'a rien cité sur le mauvais pas, ni sur l'autre route qu'on a essayée sans succès. Il dit qu'il y avait "des incidents d'une nature toute particulière et "curieuse;" mais il ne dit pas ce que c'était que ces incidents. Polybe dit que le sentier (qui se trouvait probablement à côté de la montagne) était rompu et ne permettait pas qu'on passât, et qu'Annibal conçut l'espoir de faire son chemin sur une masse de vieille neige couverte par la neige nouvelle. L'historien décrit les malheurs qui arrivèrent, particulièrement aux bêtes de somme, dans cet essai que fut inutile: l'obstacle était insurmontable. Si l'on consulte avec attention ce que Polybe a écrit sur ces événements, je suis sûr qu'on le trouvera partout applicable à une masse de la vieille neige de l'année passée, qui était restée sur le lit étroit et les rives d'un torrent, sans que le soleil l'eût jamais illuminée; et qu'il n'est pas nécessaire, ni raisonnable d'offrir à l'imagination une armée se préparant à l'assaut du glacier de Brenva.

M. Replat finit ses illustrations de l'histoire en s'écriant: "Nous sommes à Courmayeur!"

Je n'ai point ici l'intention de donner les preuves de la véritable route d'Annibal. Je ne désire que quelques mots de plus, pour exposer la faiblesse des objections faites dans le commentaire de M. Replat contre la route que je crois être la véritable. Il emploie trois pages à critiquer ce qu'il appelle "la découverte des ossements d'un éléphant." Encore donne-t-il trois pages sur "le cercle d'Annibal." Je puis seulement dire que si j'essayais de prouver en détail qu'Annibal traversa le Petit-Saint-Bernard, je ne dirais pas un seul mot sur de telles choses.

M. Replat n'aime pas du tout notre *leucopetron* : et l'on peut bien concevoir que le Mont-Blanc soit dédaigneux d'un rival si peu important. Il en parle ainsi : "Le terrain présente un cadre trop étroit ; l'espace est trop limité," etc. Enfin, "ce qui est surtout concluant, c'est que le second grand combat a été livré quatre jours après le premier, et c'est seulement le neuvième jour, depuis le premier combat, qu'Annibal a atteint la cime des Alpes. Le second combat a donc été suivi d'une marche de quatre ou cinq jours avant qu'Annibal soit arrivé au sommet." Je conseille à M. Replat de lire l'histoire de Polybe, non pas celle de ses traducteurs : il trouvera qu'il y a raison dans l'énumération que j'ai donnée ci-dessus sur les jours passés dans les Alpes ; et que ses quatre ou cinq jours n'existent pas dans l'histoire.

Partout M. Replat est dans l'erreur sur les jours que Polybe attribue aux mouvements de l'armée ; mais il n'est pas singulier : l'erreur n'est jamais singulière. Voici ce qu'il dit sur les quinze jours des Alpes : "Polybe dit qu'Annibal mit quinze jours à franchir les Alpes ; et ce pendant, si l'on compte les deux jours de campement sur la cime, on trouve un total de dix-sept jours." Encore M. Replat fera bien de consulter l'historien lui-même. La section de la marche qui précédait les Alpes était finie avant le jour du combat. Ce jour-là était donc le premier des Alpes. Annibal arriva au sommet le neuvième

jour ; il commença la descente le onzième, et il toucha la plaine le quinzième. Je n'entre pas dans des explications particulières : ce n'est pas ici mon but. J'ose prononcer que l'historien ne se contredit pas. Quant aux jours qu'occupa la descente, qui a commencé le onzième jour, le seul écrivain qui les a jamais expliqués selon la narration de Polybe, est M. De Luc.

Le mauvais pas qui faisait obstruction le premier jour de la descente, produisit des événements sérieux et intéressants. On croit en général qu'il y avait un pont formé sur un torrent par les amas de la vieille neige : et M. Replat le concède comme une chose possible, qu'il se trouvait dans le lieu indiqué par le général Melville, et par M. De Luc qui a publié les opinions du général. M. Replat dit : " Il n'est pas rare de rencontrer dans les " Alpes des grandes avalanches ainsi conservées dans le " fond de quelque ravin. Parfois, cette vieille neige forme " une voûte légère qui va d'une rive à l'autre du torrent. " Je me souviens que, dans une chasse aux chamois, au " pied du glacier de la Femme-du-Midi, nous fûmes " obligés de marcher quelque temps sur un de ces ponts " de neige. Saussure rapporte qu'en 1775 il a vu dans le " Haut-Valais des arches de neige qui passaient par- " dessus le Rhône : elles étaient même si solides, que les " voyageurs et les mulets chargés s'en servaient pour " traverser le fleuve."

Le seul livre sur notre sujet que je possède à présent, et qu'un ami m'a prêté, est *Voyages dans les Alpes* par de Saussure ; et je puis ajouter quelque chose à la citation donnée par M. Replat. M. de Saussure, en racontant sa descente du Petit-Saint-Bernard, parle ainsi : " A dix " minutes de la Thuile, on voit sous ses pieds des amas de " neige qui se sont conservés depuis l'hiver, et qui for- " ment des ponts sur ce torrent." Maintenant, M. Replat se persuade que la solidité des ponts de neige qu'il rencontra dans sa chasse aux chamois, et de ceux que de Saussure a vus dans le Haut-Valais, manque absolument

au pont de neige qui se trouve souvent sur le torrent de la Baltique, au-dessous de la Thuile. Il dit : “ La neige tombée depuis peu aurait cédé bien vite, et se serait fondue facilement sous les pas des premiers Carthaginois engagés sur cette route : la neige molle, devenue liquide, aurait activé la fusion de la vieille ; et comment prendrait-on que celle-ci eût résisté au poids des chevaux chargés, au poids des éléphants ? ” Si M. Replat veut bien consulter l'histoire, il trouvera que la vieille neige ne résistait pas au poids des bêtes de somme ; il comprendra qu'Annibal ait bientôt renoncé au projet de passer par-là ; et qu'il n'y a pas raison de supposer que les éléphants aient mis le pied sur l'amas de neige dont parle l'historien.

M. Replat pense qu'Annibal a passé par une vallée des Centrons. Je ne sais pas pourquoi il le pense. La proposition est vraie. Mais elle l'est, je crois, parce que la Tarentaise, le pays des Centrons, ouvre le chemin de l'Italie par le Petit-Saint-Bernard. Maintenant, M. Replat croit que les Centrons appartenaient particulièrement à la route qu'il propose, c'est-à-dire la route par la vallée de Beaufort. Voici en effet son raisonnement contre M. De Luc. Les Centrons devaient être des hommes de force et de santé, parce qu'ils étaient voisins des Salasses, qui luttèrent si longtemps contre les dominateurs du monde. Le crétinisme est endémique dans la vallée de Tarentaise. Ainsi, Annibal ne marcha pas par la vallée de Tarentaise. Si un tel argument mérite une réponse, on peut dire que le crétinisme est aussi endémique dans la vallée d'Aosta, le pays des Salasses. Est-ce là la raison qui fait que les Salasses n'ont pas résisté à l'entreprise d'Annibal ?

Surtout M. Replat trouve, dans la facilité du passage, du Petit-Saint-Bernard, un argument pour qu'Annibal ne l'ait point traversé, et qu'il faut chercher un chemin moins connu. Il dit : “ M. De Luc a fait valoir comme “ présomption à l'appui de son système, la facilité du pas-

“ sage du Petit-Saint-Bernard et de la grande route de Tarentaise. Mais cette facilité même, loin d'être un argument, milite au contraire contre le système de M. De Luc, car elle ne concorde pas du tout avec les obstacles que, d'après les récits de Polybe et de Tite-Live, Annibal dut surmonter, soit pour atteindre le sommet des Alpes, soit pour en descendre. La commodité du passage tournant ainsi contre le système, on devait s'écarter des chemins battus.”

Nous avons vu que M. Replat, en supportant sa théorie sur le chemin d'Annibal, ne trouve pas nécessaire de marquer avec la moindre précision la position des obstacles dont il parle. Ainsi, son observation sur *la commodité du passage* vaut seulement ceci : qu'il croit nécessaire qu'Annibal ait suivi une route plus difficile que celle du Petit-Saint-Bernard. Comment donc mesurer la difficulté nécessaire ? Moi, j'ai toujours conçu qu'Annibal a bien mérité sa réputation, s'il a vaincu les difficultés que présentait le Petit-Saint-Bernard l'an 218 A.C. Il est vrai, essentiellement vrai, que le Bonhomme avec la Seigne devaient en offrir de plus pénibles. Encore ces montagnes-là doivent céder aux obstacles du Mont-Viso, et ce mont-là encore aux glaciers du Lautaret et du Galèse. Comment donc en régler le choix ? Il faut que M. Replat nous donne des preuves additionnelles que dans les commodités du Bonhomme, de la Seigne et de la vallée de Beaufort, il se trouve le juste-milieu pour satisfaire aux difficultés et aux dangers de l'expédition carthaginoise.

La plupart des observations de M. Replat contre le système du général Melville et de M. De Luc, sont faites à l'égard de la marche après avoir quitté les environs de Montmélian. Il a dit très peu pour combattre ce système à l'égard de la marche depuis l'Isère au Mont-du-Chat. En peu de mots il adopte la construction de M. Letronne et de mille autres qui l'ont suivi, écrivains anglais, français, allemands, — c'est-à-dire que lorsque Polybe, après avoir

raconté qu'Annibal arrive à l'Ile, parle d'une marche de 800 stades le long du fleuve, pour atteindre le commencement des Alpes, il a voulu parler de l'Isère.

C'est là un point des plus importants, et, je pense, des plus évidents dans le sujet entier de l'invasion carthaginoise. Mais c'est un point que ni M. De Luc ni aucun autre n'a éclairé autant qu'il l'a mérité. M. Letronne veut que dans les mots *parà tòn potamòn* on doit comprendre l'Isère, parce qu'on trouve, en retraçant le texte de l'auteur, que l'Isère a été le fleuve mentionné en dernier lieu ! Je doute que cela soit exactement vrai. Le texte ne m'est pas accessible, et je crois que les fleuves mentionnés en dernier lieu étaient les fleuves de l'Egypte. Mais il n'y a là rien d'important. Si c'était l'Isère, quel dogme pour un philosophe ! Il se peut que le fleuve nommé en dernier lieu ait été nommé pour faire quelque comparaison, ou en parenthèse, ou dans quelque énumération des fleuves, ou dans quelque description d'un pays. Quoi donc ! quand, dans la narration des événements historiques, nous lisons qu'Annibal marcha pour une telle distance le long du fleuve, faut-il, pour connaître le fleuve dont l'auteur parle, retracer le texte et s'arrêter au premier fleuve qu'on rencontre ? C'est véritablement absurde. Mais que les disciples de M. Letronne fassent leurs expériences sur ce problème-là dans le troisième livre de Polybe. L'expression *parà tòn potamòn* s'y trouve très souvent. Relisez donc le texte et ayez soin d'observer toujours le dogme dont je parle. Je crois bien que vous trouverez qu'Annibal, aussitôt après avoir passé le Rhône, marcha le long du Pô : et je ne serais pas surpris si, avant d'arriver aux Alpes, il avait marché le long du Nil.

La philosophie de l'interprétation des mots s'accorde toujours avec le sens commun. *Le fleuve* doit nécessairement être le fleuve dont l'historien s'occupe principalement dans la narration des événements. M. De Luc a remarqué combien de fois on trouve cette expression, le

long du fleuve, dans la narration des mouvements de l'armée depuis le passage du Rhône jusqu'au commencement des Alpes. Il dit avec raison et avec bon sens que c'est toujours le Rhône. Ainsi, quand l'historien, ayant raconté les opérations d'Annibal dans l'Ile, dit qu'il marcha pendant 800 stades *parà tòn potamòn* au commencement des Alpes, il s'ensuit que si ce *potamòs* doit être le Rhône, le commencement des Alpes se trouve aux montagnes qui bordent le fleuve, où le Mont-du-Chat offre un passage praticable aux voyageurs.

On sait bien que Polybe, dans un passage antérieur, où il divise la marche entière en cinq sections, a prescrit pour la quatrième que "c'est une distance de 1,400 stades" pour ceux qui marchent du passage du Rhône le long "du fleuve, comme cherchant sa source, jusqu'au commencement des Alpes."

Je suis sûr qu'à l'égard de ce passage de l'histoire comme de l'autre, personne ne les a jamais lus pour la première fois, sans comprendre que *le fleuve* est le Rhône. Mais un théoriste se fait le droit de renverser toute construction naturelle pour servir à son hypothèse. Ainsi, M. Letronne, ne résistant pas au Rhône dans ce passage-là, a voulu que le mot qui signifie *ceux qui marchent* ne signifie que *ceux qui se mettent en route*, et que l'idée d'arriver à la fin de la marche n'est pas comprise dans les mots de l'historien. Il serait trop long de discuter ces choses en détail. J'ose exprimer mon opinion que les arguments de cet homme distingué, à l'égard de la construction de Polybe, sont frivoles et opposés aux principes les plus évidents de la philosophie grammaticale.

On doit s'attendre que les mêmes auteurs fassent objection sur la distance entre la bouche de l'Isère et le Mont-du-Chat. Pour satisfaire au mot grec *parà*, ils voudraient toujours faire marcher Annibal sur les bords du fleuve, poursuivant toutes les sinuosités du Rhône, comme si le but de l'expédition avait été de faire la pêche ou la chasse aux loutres. De tels écrivains ne connaissent

pas le style libre de Polybe. Il a voulu dire qu'on observait le cours du fleuve, afin d'atteindre l'objet de cette marche-là, et autant qu'il était nécessaire pour cet objet, c'est-à-dire pour arriver aux premières Alpes. Il aurait été tout contraire à sa façon d'écrire, si dans la narration il se fût arrêté pour nous instruire sur les sinuosités, et pour dire qu'il employait le mot *parà* dans un sens libre. Sa diction est toujours libre, jamais minutieuse. L'armée carthaginoise marcha *parà* le Rhône; elle fit son progrès selon le cours du fleuve et comme cherchant sa source, mais elle le fit afin d'atteindre les Alpes. Elles les atteignit à ce point où le cours du fleuve les indique. On peut bien voir qu'un détour vers Lyon n'aurait point aidé à s'approcher de la source du fleuve, ni au commencement des Alpes. Quant à la distance, si Polybe avait fait mention d'une distance qui fut d'accord avec les sinuosités du Rhône, ces mêmes commentateurs l'auraient traité en ridicule.

Je crains de ne m'être pas partout expliqué clairement; mais j'espère qu'on me le pardonnera. Quant à mes opinions, elles se fondent sur Polybe, sur nul autre que Polybe. Cependant il faut remercier les auteurs qui nous ont fourni le motif d'étudier son histoire et de contempler la vérité dans ses écrits. Le général Melville a donné ses *memoranda* à deux personnes: à M. Whitaker, anglais, qui n'en a point profité; et à M. De Luc, qui nous a bien instruits sur l'invasion d'Italie par Annibal, et qui mérite toute notre reconnaissance. Quoique le général Melville n'ait rien publié, l'illustre Niebuhr parle de lui, comme de l'homme qui, de nos temps, a découvert la vérité aux yeux du monde.

Cicéron a dit: "*Nec modus est ullus investigandi veri, nisi inveneris.*" Le conseil est bon, pourvu que la vérité seule soit le but de l'investigation. Mais il y a des investigateurs à qui la vérité ne suffit pas, et qui veulent toujours quelque chose de mieux, quelque chose de leur propre invention. Les idées curieuses de M. Replat, au

sujet du Bonhomme et du Mont-Blanc, ne sont pas les plus récentes, ni, peut-être, les plus étonnantes, auxquelles on se soit livré sur le passage d'Annibal. Cette année même, 1854, un savant de Cambridge a publié un ouvrage pour démontrer qu'Annibal traversa le Petit-Mont-Cenis; et pour soutenir cette opinion, il déclare positivement que la route par ce mont-là est marquée (*laid down*) sur la carte de Peutinger!!

Je fais mes adieux à M. Replat et aux Carthaginois. Il se peut que, lorsque je serai libre de voyager, je m'amuse à visiter le *leucopetron* du torrent du Reclus; et même que je me trouve *près de*, pas *sur*, son illustre rival.

WILLIAM JOHN LAW.

I did indeed find myself near to the great mountain. More than two months I lay within pistol-shot of his precipice; disabled from contemplating that which I had come to admire. Thank God, the chance survives, though not likely to be realised. I am impressed with the belief, that no scene, throughout the range of Alps, offers to the eye such a combination of the grand and beautiful, as the descent from the Col de la Seigne to Entrèves.

To those who seek that valley by way of the Graian Alp, I would recommend an early start from St. Maurice, so as to reach Courmayeur the same day. If they take interest in the *λευκόπετρον*, they may employ a day about the mountains and tracks which surround that spot, resting a second night at St. Maurice. I neither did this, nor searched for the remains of the Roman Way near Villars, concerning which the general reputation is probably true, that it kept the left bank of the Reclus, passing, as said in the Oxford Dissertation, through a

woody ravine on the other side of the white rock. This rock must of old have been more prominent into the plain. The gypsum has long been the spoil of house-decorators and others of that region, perhaps for centuries—*gutta cavat lapidem*. At the moment when I passed, a good-sized cart was steadily employed at it; with no consciousness of offence to Polybius on the part of the destroyer. The climb up the opposite zig-zag of St. Germain is tiresome. Soon perhaps a new course will carry you over the mountain without the labour of walking, or the worse labour of sitting on a mule. A new line of road was staked out in 1853 from Scez, keeping above the plain from that village, and leaving the chasm of the Reclus to the left throughout. It is to be hoped that the design will be accomplished.

P.S. 15th May.—Since this pamphlet has been printed, I am pleased to learn, that we may expect a work on our subject from an able man, M. Chaix of Geneva. I know not what his theory may be, beyond this; that a paper from him was to be read last night at a meeting of the R. Geographical Society; said to be '*On the passage of Hannibal across the Alps, and the valley of Beaufort.*' I presume from this, that M. Chaix carries the march through that valley. Beyond that I have no clue to his theory: and, as I cannot conceive that so competent a critic will go forward over the Col de la Seigne, I conjecture this:—that he bears to the right from Beaubois through Roselant, and, passing under Chapiu, comes down through the valley of Bonneval upon Scez. If so, M. Chaix only differs from other advocates of the Little St. Bernard, by quitting the Isère at Conflans (Albertville), and regaining it just above Bourg St. Maurice. It is by this shorter way, that I have supposed the news of the Carthaginian movement to have travelled to the higher country; and that by this means a small hostile body was prepared to molest the head of the march, when the great attack was made from the rear.

There is nothing unreasonable in the notion, that this way by Beaufort (St. Maxime) may have been the course of the army: and M. Chaix has the advantage of a perfect knowledge of the country, which increases his competency to determine such a question. There are reasons for and against the notion. The shortness of the route tells both ways. I apprehend, that in distance it would save more than 50 kilomètres. But whether this may be reconciled with the 1200 stadia of Polybius, is another question. At present I know not what, in M. Chaix's opinion, are to be the termini of that Alpine portion of the march, as told by Polybius. This route must be much more laborious in steepness. The common way up the Isère gives a gradual ascent to Scez. The Beaufort line has to pervade worse places, and to surmount greater elevations.

There is the gorge between Beaufort and Beaubois; and the pass between Roselant and Chapiu. Indeed, from the site of Chapiu to Scez, the path descends for some miles in company with a rapid torrent the Versoy. Here too there are great difficulties in the progress, which last for a considerable distance. And yet it is here, that M. Chaix, if I rightly guess his track, may perhaps make his chief point of preference. I say so on this ground:—the only uncertainty, which I see to be fairly attributable to the usual way through St. Maurice, regards the *πάραγξ* where the van of the march was assailed: and I expect to see it urged, that the latter part of the approach to the valley of Scez down the Versoy, is through a defile more suitable to the Polybian narrative than any place closer to the foot of the mountain. It is too late for me to enter upon this now. The question is fairly open: and no doubt M. Chaix will do justice to the views which he has adopted.

W. J. L.



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